REPORT RESUMES

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SCHOOL INTEGRATION, PROCEEDINGS OF A SYMPOSIUM ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION (MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, MAY 1964).

BY- CLARK, KENNETH AND OTHERS

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THE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, EDUCATORS, AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY MAKERS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THIS SYMPOSIUM DISCUSSED SCHOOL SEGREGATION ISSUES, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN THE NORTH AND WEST, TO PROVIDE SOME SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION. THE FOLLOWING WERE AMONG THE PAPERS PRESENTED--(1) KENNETH CLARK "EFFECT OF SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION ON CHILDREN'S PERSONALITY," (2) DAVID G. SALTEN, "THE ORGANIZATION OF INTEGRATED SCHOOL DISTRICTS--THE NEW ROCHELLE STORY," (3) WILSON RECORD, "THE CHANGING ATTITUDES OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL," (4) FRANK RIESSMAN, "INTEGRATION--THE KEY TO QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL," (5) ROY WILKINS, "EDUCATION AND THE RACIAL CRISIS," AND (6) JAMES NABRIT, JR., "THE COURTS, SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND SCHOOL INTEGRATION." MOST OF THE PAPERS WERE FOLLOWED BY A DISCUSSION BY ONE OR MORE OF THE PARTICIPANTS, WHO ALSO ANSWERED QUESTIONS. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, 252 ERICKSON HALL, EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN. (RG)

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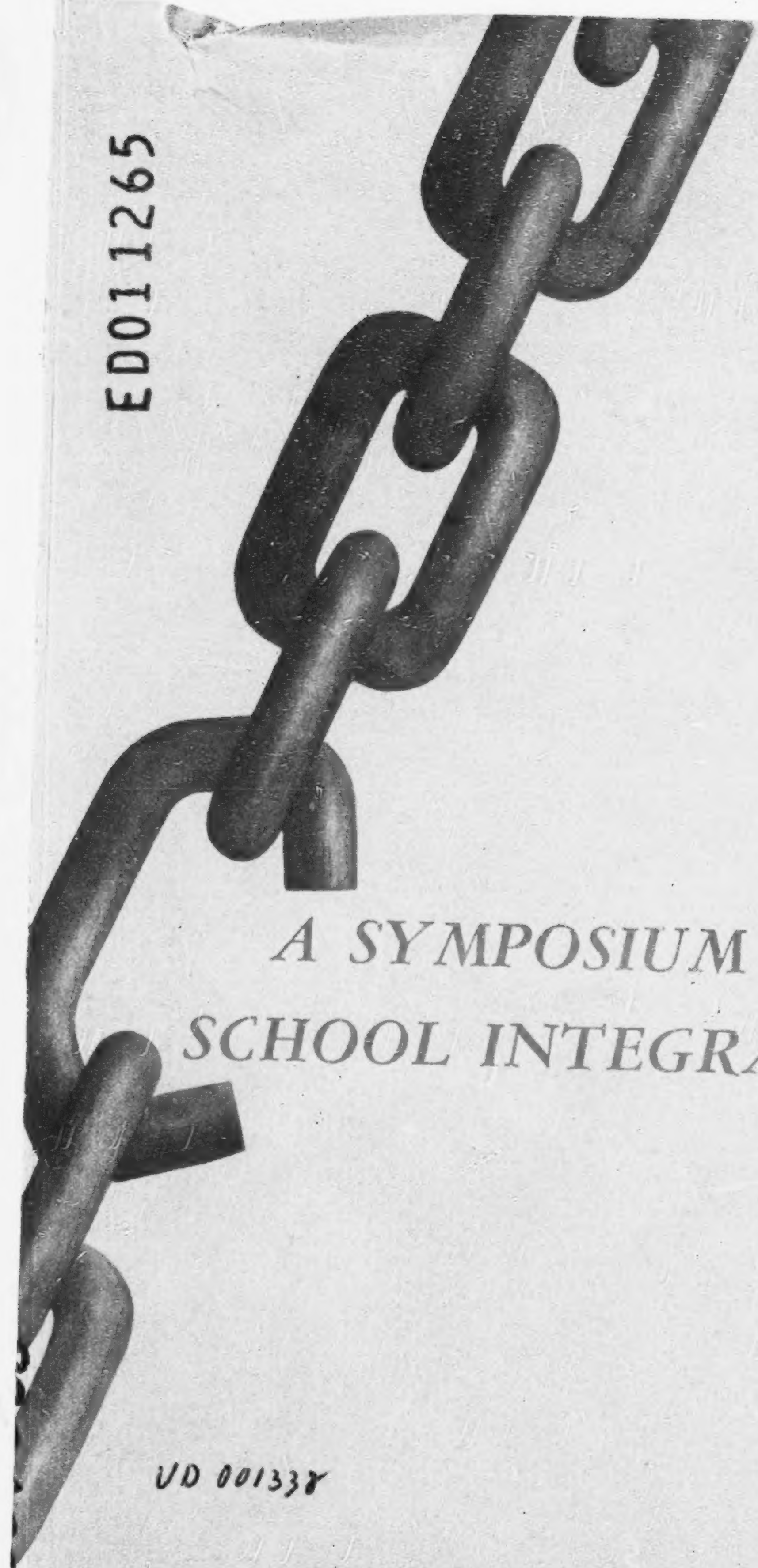

A SYMPOSIUM ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION

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Michigan State University

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SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Proceedings of
A Symposium on School Integration

at

Michigan State University

May 1964

Additional copies may be obtained from the Bureau of Educational Research, Michigan State University, 252 Erickson Hall, East Lansing, Michigan.

PREFACE

In May 1954, the United States Supreme Court issued its historic school desegregation decision. The following decade provided a wealth of experience, including both successes and failures. Michigan State University, therefore, deemed the tenth anniversary of that decision a suitable occasion for reviewing and assessing the consequences of that decision and establishing a basis for improved future efforts. The papers and discussions published in this volume are those presented at the Tenth Anniversary Symposium on School Integration at Michigan State University, May 1964.

The symposium was perceived as having two general purposes: first, to focus attention on school segregation issues, particularly in the North and West; and second, to contribute to the solution of the problems through a conversation between social scientists, professional educators and local educational policy makers.

The faculty committee that planned this symposium is indebted to many people for assistance in both the symposium and the publication of its proceedings. Not all can be enumerated here, but we take this opportunity to publicly express our appreciation for the support provided by the University Administration and Board of Trustees and for the contributions of those who participated in the symposium.

Wilbur B. Brookover,
Chairman for the Faculty Committee

Albert Blum	Russell Kleis
Bernard Corman	Louis Radelet
James Denison	Milton Rokeach
Herbert Garfinkel	Edgar Schuler
Robert Green	Clayton Wells

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EFFECT OF SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION ON CHILDREN'S PERSONALITY

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It is almost 10 years to the day since the United States Supreme Court handed down one of its historic decisions, a decision which has had a great impact and probably will have an even greater impact upon American society than the Civil War itself. In these ten years, many things have happened. The reactions to decisions have been varied; at least insofar as race is concerned the actual changes in the organization of school have probably not been too great; but the great change wrought by the Brown decision has been in the morale of the Negro in the United States and that that change is reflected in what has been called the Negro Revolution.

Also during these 10 years, social scientists have found themselves, perhaps without knowing it, involved in a major social policy area and sometimes felt embarrassed by this situation. Some lawyers have been disturbed at the fact that social scientists had invaded the pure area of law, and have debated among themselves whether this was good or bad, or, even irrelevant.

There have been, during these ten years, discussions concerning what the role of the social scientists actually was in the Brown decisions; what did they say; what effect did they have, if any, on the decision. Now obviously I cannot answer that last question but it is important to review in summary fashion what was said ten years ago on this specific point — namely, the effect of segregation on personality development of American children and what developments within these past ten years require modification, extension, elaboration of what was said a decade ago. In effect, what I plan to describe in capsule form are some of the main points which a group of social scientists, working with the lawyers of the legal defense and educational division of the NAACP, brought together for presentation to the court and then to move from that to a social-psychological analysis of the problem of race and children's personalities in society, as I believe is required by events since the Brown decision.

My source for the first part is the social science brief which a number of us prepared and presented to the lawyers, who in turn presented it to the Supreme Court many years ago. At that time, we started out by defining precisely — or as precisely as possible — what we believed was meant by the term, segregation. It is as follows:

> For purposes of present statement, segregation refers to that restriction of opportunities for different types of associations between the members of one racial, religious, national or geographic origin or linguistic group, and those of other groups which results from, or is supported by the action of any official body or agency representing some branch of government.

At that time we stated:

> We are not here concerned with such segregation as arises from the free movements of individuals which are neither enforced nor supported by official bodies, nor with the segregation of criminals, or of individuals with communicable diseases which aims at the protecting of society from those who might seek to harm it. Where the action takes place in a social milieu, in which the groups involved do not enjoy equal social status, the group that is of lesser social status will be referred to as the segregated group.

In these paragraphs those of us who took on the responsibility of preparing this statement tried to make clear, with as much precision as we were capable, the type of segregation with which we were concerned in the rest of the document which sought to describe the psycholocical consequences of racial segregation in America.

We went further, and I think it's important to restate our basic premises because in the ten years so much distortion and so much confusion has occurred that many times I've had to go back and re-read the materials with which I was intimately involved in order to clarify for myself what actually was there. And, by the way, the distortions come not only from those who are opposed, or resist the impact of the decision, but sometimes the distortions come from those of us who are eager to facilitate democratic changes in our society.

In dealing with the question of the effects of segregation, it must be recognized that these effects do not take place in a vacuum, but in a social context. The segregation of Negroes, and of other groups in the United States, takes place in a social milieu in which race, prejudice and discrimination exists. It is questionable in the view of some students of the problem whether it is possible to have segregation without substantial discrimination. Myrdal, in his classic, *The American Dilemma,* stated that "Segregation is financially possible, and indeed a device of economy only as it is combined with substantial discrimination."

We were trying to make perfectly clear to the Court, to the lawyers, and, we thought, to the American people, that we were not in a position to talk about the effects of segregation *per se*, because nowhere in our observations of American society did we ever find segregation operating in isolation from a total context of differential status, discrimination, prejudice, etc. We have sometimes, during these past ten years, been accused of misleading the court by asserting that we had data on the effects of segregated schools *per se* on personality distortion of Negro children. In presenting our ground rules in the social science brief, we devoted a rather elaborate paragraph, making clear that in the early 1950's, no responsible social scientist could discuss the effect of segregation in itself on human personality without seeing that variable as an integral part of a total social complex. The embedding of segregation in such a context makes it difficult to disentangle the effects of segregation *per se* from the effects of the context. That is a sentence in the social science brief presented to the Court.

Similarly, it is difficult to disentangle the effects of segregation from the effects of a pattern of social disorganization commonly associated with it, and reflected in high disease and mortality rates, crime and delinquency, poor housing, disrupted family life, and in general, substandard living conditions. The brief then moved directly into a summary analysis of what we believed to be the major conclusions to be derived from an examination of hundreds of studies dealing with the observable effects of the total social complex in which segregation is a major component.

At this point, I'd like to make very clear that one of the distortions concerning the role of psychologists and social scientists in the desegregation decision that has developed during the past ten years, has been that the Supreme Court based the psychological aspects of its decision on one or two studies, and particularly the study with which my wife and I have been associated – namely the preference of Negro youngsters for white and Negro dolls. I've heard so often that this was a rather flimsy basis upon which to make the decision that I myself became no longer sure as to what the facts were. When people tell me that the Supreme Court made its decision based upon one study which Kenneth and Mamie Clark did, the ego gratification involved in accepting this tempts one to forget the facts and believe that this is true, but unfortunately we have to go back to the facts every now and then. And when I return to these facts I find that no matter how badly I would want to wish this, the Supreme Court did no such thing. The dolls' test was merely one of hundreds of studies which were summarized for examination by the Court itself. And let me read some part of the kind of summary information which we presented over ten years ago to the United States Supreme Court:

> At a recent mid-century White House conference on children and youth which was held in 1950 (by the way) a fact-finding report on the effects of prejudice, discrimination and segregation on personality development of children was prepared as a basis for some of its deliberations. This report brought together the available social science and psychological studies which were related to the problem of how racial and religious prejudices influence the development of healthy personalities. It highlighted the fact that segregation, prejudices, and discriminations, and their social concomitants, potentially damaged the personality of all children —the children of the majority group in a somewhat different way than the more obviously damaged children of the minority group.

I was responsible for that report and I recall that there were hundreds of studies cited in it. The report indicated that as minority group children learned the inferior status to which they are assigned, as they observe the fact that they are almost always segregated and kept apart from others who are treated with more respect by the society as a whole, they often react with feelings of inferiority, and a sense of personal humiliation. Many of them become confused about their own personal worth. On the one hand, like all other human beings, they require a sense of personal dignity; on the other hand, almost nowhere in the larger society, do they find their own dignity as human beings respected by others. Under these conditions the minority group child is thrown into conflict with regard to his feelings about himself and his group. He wonders whether his group, and he himself, are worthy of any more respect than they receive. This conflict and confusion leads to self hatred and the rejection of his own group.

The report goes on (said we to the Court) and points out that these children must find ways with which to cope with their conflict. Not every child, of course, reacts with the same pattern of behavior. The particular pattern depends upon many interrelated factors, among which are the stability and quality of his family relations, the social and economic class to which he belongs, the cultural and educational background of his parents, the particular minority group to which he belongs, his personal characteristics, intelligence, special talents, and personality pattern. Some children, we felt (and all of this was summarizing hundreds of studies of race and society and personality) usually of the lower socioeconomic classes, may react by overt agressions and hostility, directed toward their own group or members of the dominant group. Anti-social and delinquent behavior may often be interpreted as reactions to these racial frustrations. These reactions are self destructive in that the larger society not only punishes those who commit them, but often interprets such aggressive and anti-social behavior as justification for continuing prejudice and segregation.

And then we went on to delineate or describe the patterns of reaction to racial status on the part of middle class and upper class minority group children. We said that these children are likely to react to their racial frustrations and conflicts by withdrawal, and submissive behavior; or they may react with compensatory and rigid conformity to the prevailing middle-class values and standards, and an aggressive determination to succeed in spite of the handicaps of their minority status. The report indicated that minority group children of all social and economic classes often react with a general defeatist attitude and a lowering of personal ambitions. This, for example (said we, over ten years ago) is reflected in a lowering of pupil morale and a depression of the educational aspirations among minority group children in segregated schools. This was a specific statement concerning the personality and psychological consequences of segregated schools. This was the first thing that we tied directly to a segregated school situation and if you recall the Supreme Court decision made that specific point on the depression of motivation related to segregated schools.

In producing such effects (said we at that time) segregated schools impair the ability of the child to profit from the educational opportunities provided him. And we also pointed out that many of these children were hypersensitive and anxious about their relations with the larger society.

We also said that the characteristic of a minority status was to tend to see hostility and rejection, even in those areas of life where they might not actually exist. I point this directly toward my friend, Professor Milton Rokeach, because every time we get together he tells me how hostile I am, and I tell him how colored I am. He wants me to be a psychologist first; and I tell him that America has forced the reality of my being colored first, so if we're going to be friends we might as well be friends on the basis of psychological reality.

We did at that time recognize a range of individual differences among members of rejected minority groups, and we recognized that those individual differences might be as wide as among all other peoples, but we did say that the evidence suggests that all of these children are unnecessarily encumbered in one or another way by segregation and its concomitance.

I'll conclude this review of where we were and what we actually said to the Court, so that when you read the new group of social scientists who for the most part seem to me to be reinterpreting what we said ten years ago (the VandenHaggs, the Kahns, and others who insisted that we sold the Court a bill of goods by telling them that the doll which a particular Negro child chose was not sufficient basis upon which to upset our way of life) — that we can meet that type of intellectual obscurantism, equivocation, and confusion by actual facts.

We did have in our brief a whole area ignored by the Court in the Brown decision — ignored in the sense of not specifically being alluded to and that was the area in which we attempted to summarize the effects of segregation and discrimination on personality patterns of whites. It might have been too much to have expected even the Warren Supreme Court to face the more painful aspects of our evidence — namely that a racist society corrodes the alleged beneficiaries. James Baldwin has not been particularly successful in breaking through with this kind of insight on the great American white liberal conscience. Rather than accepting this insight, I think they will continue to talk about how disturbed and extreme and emotional Baldwin is.

With reference to the impact of segregation and its concomitants on children of the majority group, the report indicates that the effects are somewhat more obscure. These children who learn the prejudice of our society are also being taught that you gain personal status in unrealistic and non-adaptive ways; when comparing themselves to members of the minority group, they are not required to evaluate themselves in terms of the more basic standards of actual personal ability and achievement. The culture permits and at times encourages them to direct their feelings of hostility and aggression against whole groups of people, the members of which are perceived as weaker than themselves. They often develop patterns of guilt feelings, rationalizations and other mechanisms which they must use in an attempt to protect themselves from recognizing the essential injustice of their unrealistic fears and hatreds of minority groups. And, by the way, throughout this summary we played the game according to the academic rules, and we have multiplicity of footnotes.

The report indicates further that confusion, conflict, moral cynicism and disrespect for authority may arise in majority group children as a consequence of being taught the moral, religious and democratic principles of the brotherhood of man and the importance of justice and fair play by the same persons and institutions who, in their support of racial segregation and related practices, seem to be acting in a prejudiced and discriminatory manner. Some individuals may attempt to resolve this conflict by intensifying their hostility toward a minority group. Others may react by guilt feelings, which are not necessarily reflected in more humane attitudes toward the minority group. Still others react by developing an unwholesome, rigid and uncritical idealization of all authority figures: their parents, and strong economic and political leaders. As described in the authoritarian personality, they despise the weak, while they obsequiously and unquestioningly conform to the demands of the strong whom they also paradoxically, subconsciously hate.

That was the relevant part of the brief which social scientists prepared on the psychology of racial segregation – the personality consequences and concomitants of racial segregation in our society. In short, what we said to the Court ten years ago was that a racist society that institutionalizes its prejudices in forms of segregation did so at the cost of distorting human beings, and the state was an important accessory in the dehumanization of human beings in that type of society. In the case of the lower status human beings, the institutional patterns were internalized and our basic emphasis was on the internalization in the form of deep feelings of inferiority, self-doubt, anxieties about the worth of self among the victims of a society based on segregation, prejudice and discrimination. And in the case of the dominant group, the chief distortion was in terms of unrealistic self appraisal, a paranoid kind of acceptance and evaluation – positive evaluation of self without regard to the realistic determinants of self. It is almost the opposite of the distortion of the minority group.

But something has happened in these ten years, and in good part caused by the Court's decision itself. In these ten years, there has been Little Rock; maybe even more important, there has been Montgomery. And I contend that probably Montgomery would not have occurred without the Brown decision, because the Brown decision gave a tremendous psychological morale boost to the Negro people, and made it possible for them to organize mass confrontation or the beginning of the Negro Revolution.

After Montgomery, we have had a wave of sit-ins, freedom rides, stall-ins, direct action. The problem for the psychologist now is how does he square the summary of the psychological effects of prejudice and discrimination, which was presented to the Court over ten years ago, with the evidence of direct action, affirmative insistence on the part of the victims of prejudice, all of which do not seem to be consistent with deep feelings of inferiority. What follows then is an attempt to wrestle, not at all successfully, with this problem and to make a transition from what seemed to be a purely psychological to a social-psychological analysis of race in the light of events during the past ten years. Reflecting directly my involvement in a study of the plight of Negro youth in central Harlem, where it seemed clear to me that I could not understand what was happening to these young people during these past two years when I have been trying to study them without putting the ghetto in the larger context of the society within which the ghetto was a part. And if you'll bear with me I will try to capsule some of our thinking that would make the transition from what we said ten years ago to what we think events now demand of us.

To make this transition, however, we have to start with the ghetto. Ghettos in contemporary America must be defined primarily in terms of racial- and color-determined restrictions on freedom of choice and freedom of movement. Ghettos are the consequence of the imposition of external power and the institutionalization of powerlessness. Here the same basic, theoretical assumptions that we used in 1950 for the analysis of personality are now used to understand a community of deprived status. In this respect, ghettos are in fact social, political, educational and, above all, economic colonies. Those confined within ghetto walls are subject peoples. They are victims of the greed, cruelty, the insensitivity, guilt, and fear of their masters. The concrete indications of the powerless aspect of American urban ghettos are to be found in deteriorated housing, overcrowdedness, infant mortality, high disease rate, etc. I should add at this point that the social-psychological analysis, which we are beginning here, seemed to me particularly relevant because I think the Negro Revolution, during the past ten years, has been primarily an urban phenomenon. One has to understand the relationship between the urban aspects of the race problem and the nature of the race problem. We're not dealing with a rural phenomenon any longer in looking at the status relationship between whites and Negroes in America. The Negro population has become in this century, starting in World War I, and particularly since World War II, an essentially urban phenomenon, and the kinds of problems we're having are problems whose character, it seems, are in some way influenced by the urban factor.

The psychological dimensions of the ghetto clearly related to and determined and reinforced by the objective characteristics involve patterns of general hostility, random aggressiveness, despair, apathy — curious fluctuation between self-deprecation and compensatory grandiosity in posturing. Within this context of pervasive pathology, which is the present American urban Negro ghetto, there exists the potential for positive and effective functioning in the reality of human resilience. A central reality of the ghetto therefore is ferment, paradox, conflict, dilemma, and incipient hostility. I think America must understand that it cannot have its cake of confining people to deprived, low-status areas without having to pay for it in potential dissocial chaos and destruction.

The ghetto, as I studied it recently, is ambivalance; it is conflict. It is hope, it is despair, it is aspiration for mobility and it is apathy and stagnation. It is courage and it is defeatism; it is cooperation and it is concern, and it is also suspiciousness, competitiveness and rejection — rejection of others and rejection of self. It is a surge toward integration and assimilation in the larger context of American life, and it is increasing alienation and isolation. It is Martin Luther King and it is Malcolm X. It is timidity and it is withdrawal further within the protective walls of segregation. And we see all of these in the children whom we have been studying in the past year. Often, more often than not, we see all of these conflicts and opposites and contradictions within the same individuals. Given the fact of objective deterioration and physical ugliness that characterizes so much of our Northern urban ghettos, the chances for the dominance of psychological negatives in its products, seem to me increased. In fact, the pathological characteristics of the ghetto community determine its atmosphere, and tend to perpetuate themselves through cumulative deterioration and isolation.

The self-perpetuating community pathology provides the reality basis which reinforces the negative self-image of individuals and confirms their feelings in the fact of their impotence. It is perhaps this pattern of complexity to which James Baldwin made poetic allusion when he described a middle-class private housing project in the center of the Harlem ghetto, where these middle-class and upper-middle-class Negroes were very proud that here they had a demonstration of the fact that there could be something of real value that they could point to with pride as being all Negro, but not deteriorated. James Baldwin commanded their eternal disrespect when he described that symbol of a positive ghetto as a slum.

The counteracting forces of the cycle of negatives within the social and personal aspects of the ghetto stem from the fact that the ghetto is not ever totally isolated. And I think in this fact may be the essence of the horror and the cruelty that is the American ghetto. It is not totally isolated. It cannot be. The mass media, the radio, television, moving pictures, magazines and the press penetrate, in fact they invade, the ghetto and bring with them in some curious complicated way, the values and the aspirations, the manners, the style and some of the techniques of the larger middle-class dominated society. As a consequence of this continuous and inevitable communication which largely is one way, the individuals actually and psychologically confined within the ghetto are influenced in some ways by the values of the larger society. They unquestionably share the aspirations of the slick magazine versions of a desirable standard of living at the same time that they are required to function within the realities and the conditions of life imposed upon them, or found around them within the ghetto. They would like homes in the suburbs, scrubbed, antiseptic, empty and despairing; they would like to share the American suburban emptiness and confusion, but they know they cannot.

Individuals who are required to live under congested deteriorated and rat-infested conditions are aware of the fact that other human beings are not so dehumanized. Young people in the ghetto are aware of the fact that other human beings have been taught to read, are being prepared for college (where it doesn't matter what happens, they still go), and are able to compete successfully for white collar managerial and eventually executive positions. Do not delude yourself, I have never met a youngster in Harlem whose status was so low that he didn't know that other people had a better break in life and that his status was a function of forces over which he has no control, because one of the most disturbing observations which I have made during the past two years is that contrary to general stereotyped notions of these youngsters, the more severely scarred they are, the more obvious they are as casualties, the more they blame themselves for their failures. But the point still remains, that they make comparisons between themselves and others. The personal and social disadvantages inherent in the objective and psychological realities of the ghetto therefore necessarily occur with deep and profound conflicts. The stabilizing devices available within the ghetto to individuals seeking to function, with that minimum degree of self-esteem essential to their humanity, inevitably involve some type of accommodation to this basic conflict. It is the conflict between the values, patterns, aspirations, style and rewards of the larger society on the one hand, and on the other hand, the realities of discrimination, deterioration, de-humanization, stagnation and apathy. The ferment and activity in the ghetto, to be found as an alternative to total apathy, probably can be interpreted as a community manifestation of this fundamental conflict. The ghetto seems to me to be constantly struggling against total stagnation and apathy. If one reads our newspapers it seems as if the major activity in the ghetto is organizing to kill whites, but that is not the main issue in the ghetto really. The issue in the ghetto is how to stay alive; how to keep from just being sunk down into the murk of stagnation and despair. Young people in Harlem who persist in spite of obstacles in seeking an education, who insist upon going to night school until they receive the necessary average to enter the day session of one of the free municipal colleges, who are fortunate enough to have parents, relatives, friends or an occasional teacher who serve as a source of encouragement and support or as a model of socially desirable achievement — these are all examples of the positive resolution of the nuclear conflict within the ghetto. Make no mistake about it, however, these are not frequent examples. I mean they are not the majority of people by any means. The Negro has not become a superman because America has been cruel. While such examples should not be underestimated, neither should they be overestimated in a quest for the understanding of the dehumanizing effect of the ghetto. They should be more systematically studied and understood so that the number of such individuals can be increased, if we don't succeed in changing the basic society from one of present injustice and cruelty to a more moral one. And I don't suspect we will.

The large number of drop-outs, the number of young people within the ghetto who are defeated and who have tended to accept the reality of their personal inferiority and impotence, the number of young people who have expressed their sense of personal defeat through stagnation, despair, flirtation with drugs (marijuana) and seek to hide their pervasive sense of inferiority by posturing, by slicksterism – these are examples of the negative or self-destructive resolution of the conflict of the ghetto, and are numerically too high.

Many young people in the ghetto are capable of articulating both an active rejection of the values of the larger society and their need to develop their own system of values within which they can attain status and self-esteem. They are aware of the fact that antisocial behavior is frowned upon by the larger society, but they, in turn, are scornful of what they consider the hypocrisy, the dishonesty and the lack of any genuine concern on the part of the larger society which seeks to modify their behavior only for its own convenience rather than in recognition of their humanity. They point to the fact (and this, by the way, is very prevalent in our interviews with these youngsters) that there is normative and accepted corruption and criminal behavior among the respected representatives of the larger middle class society with whom they have had contact. What these youngsters say about their teachers (the cruelty, the dishonesty, the horror of just normative relationship with them) would go far in explaining drop-outs. In fact, I would predicate a theory that the more ethical and morally sensitive Negro youngster is the drop-out. They describe vividly the corrupt policemen who accept graft from the number-runners and the prostitutes. They act this out for us sometimes, putting on the expression on the faces of these men. They explain their disaffection with school in terms of the physical and psychological brutality of their teachers. There is, therefore, in fact, a pattern of mutual re-enforcement between the permeating community manifestations of the powerless ghetto, a colony of subjugated people, and the individual reactions to the essential impotence of minority status. One can postulate a continuous cyclic feedback between the personal patterns of accommodation and the resolution of the conflicts inherent in minority status, and the institutionalization of these on a community level. But that's not the whole story.

A significant fact which has emerged with seemingly abrupt and startling clarity within the past two years is the evidence that the current form of this cyclic relationship between personal and community aspects of minority status now seems to be dominated by the positives of social action and social protests. The ferment within the Negro communities throughout the nation, certainly more obvious in certain Southern communities and becoming increasingly clear in certain Northern communities (such as Chicago, Boston, New York, Philadelphia) suggests to this observer at least, that the past cycle of negative reinforcements of personal and community powerlessness is now being supplanted by a more positive pattern of effective personal and community action. If this is true, it is now possible to postulate that these evidences of increasing community action and the mobilization of power within the ghetto, is having (or will have) a positive effect on the self-image of Negro adults and young people. It is possible also that this phenomenon reflects a prior increase in their morale and that the negative, the debilitating, the apathy-determining forces of the ghetto had not completely subordinated the more positive survival forces. The present evidence of effective protests could not have evolved out of total and complete stagnation and dehumanization. They must, however, be interpreted as reflecting the positive potentials within subjugated human beings which are somehow mysteriously kept alive.

If concrete successes result from these forms of mobilized community power and protest then one can expect that these will stimulate, increase and re-inforce self-confidence and pride in Negro adults and youth. And let me hereby warn the white power structure: if it does want to subjugate the Negro, it had better do it totally and completely right now. If I were one of the strategists in the Pentagon of race relations in America, and if I felt that race was important, I would order my followers at this juncture in American history not to play around with these Negroes. Don't temporize! Strike now! Subjugate them totally because if you let them win one type of victory after another, this will build their self-image, build their confidence, build their pride and they will become more and more insatiable. Given an increase in the positive self-image of the Negro youth, based upon the realities of effective social action and demonstrated social change, there should emerge a solid basis for a new cycle of greater personal community effectiveness. From this perspective it can be seen that the closer the Negro community gets to the attainment of its goals, the closer it gets to the removal of the determinants and manifestations of racial exploitation and powerlessness, the more impatient individual Negroes will become for total and unqualified equality. And if America does not want this, then it should now prepare its concentration camps and use them efficiently on an assembly line basis.

Success in removing some barriers reinforce the idea of personal and community effectiveness and provides the strength and the motivation for increased activity of this type. This in turn makes the existing barriers even more intolerable. This accelerated impatience and the lowering of the threshold of frustration for remaining inequities paradoxically increases the chance of racial tensions, racial crises and ferment, if not explosions. This level of the cyclic relationship between increased personal effectiveness and successful community action makes careful, thoughtful and realistic planning starkly imperative, if we are to reduce the chances of social chaos in the immediate future.

Kenneth Morland:

I bring greetings from a section of the country where this anniversary is not being very widely heralded. As a matter of fact, in our paper, they still refer to it in the very slighting manner as the sociological decision of the Supreme Court. This is one of the worst things they can say about it. Recently there have been editorials still on supreme sociology and the nine supreme sociologists. I don't know whether this is more of an affront to the justices, or to the sociologists themselves. Just this past week Governor Harrison of Virginia was invited to attend the celebration that the NAACP was having for this day. His reply was, "You know I didn't like that decision so I cannot come to your celebration." Yet I'm convinced that this decision has been the most liberating event in the history of the South; that nothing has hurt our section of the country more than forced racial segregation. It has hurt the South economically, it has hurt us politically, it has hurt us and is still hurting us intellectually, and certainly it is hurting us morally. And the South doesn't realize it yet, but actually this decision, when it is carried out, will do more to rejuvenate and to make progress possible in our area of the country than anything that has happened there in its entire history.

I wish to confine my remarks to some of the things that Dr. Clark mentioned and to which the Supreme Court did not pay a great deal of attention — namely, the effect of the segregated system on the white person. Most of this will come from my own research on nursery school children in Lynchburg, Virginia.

We have studied over 500 Negro and white children there during the past six or eight years, and we have reinforced and duplicated Dr. Clark's earlier findings, using different sorts of tests. We have discovered that both Negro and white children readily accept each other at nursery school age, at least when no sort of choice is required. But when you force the children to a choice of: "Who would you rather be?" and show them pictures of Negro and white women and ask: "Which one looks most like your mother?" we find consistent results that the whites prefer and identify with whites and that the Negroes prefer and identify with whites. We think that this offers a basis at least among Negroes and white children of a racial bias. At this point, without actual racial rejection, we do not consider it prejudice, but certainly it is a firm foundation on which such prejudice is reared.

We find further that these preferences and identifications occur before verbalization of racial differences is acquired. This is as true among three-year-olds who cannot point out who is white and who is colored in the pictures, as it is among the six-year-olds who can do so. This reinforces the notion that if children grow up in a segregated environment, they absorb indirectly the sorts of biases from which later prejudices might very well develop.

I am sure all of you recognize the crucial importance of the social context. Those of us who grew up in the South, as I did, learn to react to color in much the same way as we learn to speak with a Southern accent, or learn to go to church on Sunday, or learn to shake hands with our right hand rather than our left hand. One does not raise questions about these things – one does them. Now, I must admit that when I grew up in Birmingham, I was a bit puzzled that in one of the buildings, the elevators were segregated going up, but integrated going down. But I didn't raise questions. I said, "Of course elevators are segregated going up, and of course they're integrated going down. This is just the way life is." I didn't understand a great deal about it, and one accepted things as they were; and, of course, growing up in this kind of environment, one inculcated an attitude and a reaction that told you that segregation was best for both races; furthermore, the Negroes liked segregation. It amazed me when I went back to Birmingham to visit my wife's and my family this past summer, that in spite of all these demonstrations, in spite of all the upset, my friends said, "Birmingham Negroes like segregation. If it weren't for Martin Luther King, they would all be happy." Well, sometimes one wonders how much it takes to get the message across.

There are many rationalizations and myths that are exceedingly difficult to deal with because they are so deeply inculcated. I would question, though, whether or not, at least with the great majority of white Southerners, this kind of prejudice reaches the level of hatred. I think with some personalities who need prejudice and who require it because of many other factors in their lives, this perhaps is the case. But I would contend that among the children that we have studied, and among the white and Negro children Robert Martin Cole interviewed in Atlanta and New Orleans week-by-week over a two-year period (those who had gone into newly integrated schools) they may be prejudiced but they do not hate.

The main thing is that whites have been taught that as long as Negroes and whites keep their places, then the relationship can be a friendly one. Looking at Dr. Robert Green's research in Prince Edward County, he found this repeatedly. "We have good relations here, and if it weren't for agitators, we would get along fine." I don't see individual hatred as such. But what I do see is a sort of color blinding in the Southerner, who, because of the segregated system is unable to see and react to Negroes as separate individuals.

Returning to the question that the Supreme Court decision marked a great day for the South (although it has not yet been so recognized) Cole has found as many of them have come to know Negro children as individuals. They no longer have the quick and total reaction which divides people on the basis of color. Once they began to see differences in personality and mannerisms then the great breakthrough is there. Under a segregated system one simply cannot get to know people of the other race as individuals. One can react to each other on the basis of caste as long as both parties accept this. Perhaps, then, one has what has been termed a "smooth system," but this has been deadly for the South.

Dr. Clark mentioned that if officials were not ready to recognize the sort of potential explosion in the South and put people down so that they had to stay down, then they had better be ready to accept tension and movement toward the greater equality. The alternative is between South Africa or a democracy. And I think South Africa is a powder keg that is going to blow up in the faces of the whites. In other words, those officials who might try to keep the Negro down are moving right to their own self destruction. And so, the only hope for the South and for the United States is to get rid in every form, shape and fashion of forced racial segregation – or segregation based on race, or any other artificial sort of barrier. One cannot move off dead center until this is done; and certainly we all know it is not enough. Some of the children Dr. Cole studied were changed just because of the contact with members of the opposite race.

I'm convinced that another thing that we have got to do in order to change the behavior and consequently the attitude of whites, is to get some accurate information and knowledge about race and race differences. We pick up this information in distorted ways that has no systematic or scientific foundation. I've asked every biology teacher in Southern high schools and in colleges too, "What do you teach about race?" "We avoid it," they say. Though it is difficult to teach accurately, but still the racist society that Dr. Clark described is not really going to be changed until we can get some accurate knowledge about race and race differences.

This is hard to do in some states, as in Mississippi, where October 26 is an official race and reason day; or when people are advised to read and discuss Carlson Putnam's book on *Race and Races.* The Louisiana School Board passed a resolution saying that all teachers should encourage mature white students to read this book. Recently, a similar resolution came up in the Virginia Legislature but it died in committee. I know we are a long way off from teaching factual data about race, but I've had the very encouraging experience of seeing my college students, one after another, when they get the facts, react in a way which asks "Why haven't we been told." They say, "This whole system is based on false premises." And I think that knowledge can change attitudes; it is in itself not enough because knowledge doesn't always effect emotion.

I think there's a third thing that is needed in addition to getting rid of segregation, and teaching accurate knowledge about race and it is teaching about what is involved in democratic practices. The Traka-Yarrow study in Philadelphia, a study of early childhood, certainly supports this—that if you leave it to the children to practice democracy, they do not always do it. They reflect what is in the wider society. And, Dr. Clark pointed this out in his study of prejudice in a young child, that as long as the wider society is practicing undemocratic procedures then we have to make still other more direct moves to do something about the attitudes and the prejudices that exist.

I am convinced that the great majority of white Southerners are not at such a level of fear, or of hatred, that change cannot be fairly rapid. There will always be, I suppose, the Bull Connors and some of the others for whom prejudice is a life-and-death matter, but when I see the reaction of businessmen and churchmen and other responsible people in the South, I find real hope that this situation can be changed and that the white children and Negro children growing up in the South will not be handicapped to the degree that many of us have been.

Dr. Bertram Karon:

If there is one thing that we've learned in the last 75 years of clinical psychology, it is that the worst way to handle a problem is not to be aware of it. And this, I think, is as true of a society as it is of an individual. People joke because when I speak of having a good session with a patient, it means he went away crying, or screaming or yelling. But indeed, he has something to cry or scream or yell about, and when he says to me, "There's nothing wrong! I'm feeling fine. You are a wonderful therapist," then I know he might just as well have been home.

When we come to the issue of social ills, we find exactly the same thing, and Dr. Clark has pointed this out. In my own work, where we took a nationwide sample and gave them projective tests, and then with all sorts of statistical control methods we discovered many things. One finding that clearly emerged is that there are some differences among Negroes in various parts of the country. These are not caused by hereditary differences between Negroes and whites (they don't exist) and by personality characteristics (the personality characteristics which do occur are destructive, pathological, and increase in frequency as one gets into a more and more severe caste situation, running from the North to the South). But the striking parts of our findings are twofold: first of all, that within the South, as the caste system becomes less ponderous and less vicious, as one moves from rural Mississippi to an urban area like Atlanta, New Orleans, one finds that the human cost is less, considerably less, though not by any means gone or as good as it is up North. There is no single movement which has had more impact on mental health than the changes that are now occurring in the status of American Negroes; there is no single movement which will do more to decrease the rate of psychosis, let alone the rate of just plain misery, than the rise in Negro status.

All of this data has been out for some time, but there is other data that I have not published on the Southern white. Many of the comments that Dr. Clark's brief to the Supreme Court mentioned have again been substantiated in my research. Again, if we look at the projective tests administered to a sample of the United States, what I find is this: that compared to the North, the border-South white cannot be clearly distinguished. This could be because my measuring instruments are crude; the samples are relatively small for this kind of thing. There may be lots of things wrong. But when we move to the deep South we do find a pattern.

One reason for this may be that the border South has more of a problem than the North has, but it is fought more openly. Most border-South whites know that there are difficulties involved in segregation. In the North, the whites try to pretend that there is no difficulty when, in fact, there may be a more severe problem, but it is handled by denial—and, in general, the worst way to handle a problem is to deny it.

As we move into the deep South (Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina), one finds a problem that is both more severe and still handled by denial. And there we do find a finding that stands up, even with our relatively crude measuring instruments. And it seems to run like this:

The first thing that comes up is an increased amount of submissive authoritarianism or the people who look to a leader to follow.

The next finding has to do with the area of work, and in the technical language, the variables include an extremely low work endurance. What this involves are people who are continually looking for good reasons for not having to continue to achieve, or to strive. They are people who don't see working hard as the way to get ahead. And this fits into the culture of race relations in the South. But, in part, I think it's a phenomenon that I've called the horse-driver phenomenon, which occurs any time that one has an ascribed status situation. One finds it in the army with commissioned officers and their feelings about non-commissioned officers. One finds it in Orwell, as he watches (in one of his essays) colonial troops marching by, strong, disciplined, intelligent, and he said, "How long can we kid them that we're better than they are?"

The reason I call it the horse-driver phenomenon was because it was described that way to me in New England by a foreman in the garment industry who was telling me the secret of his success as a foreman. "The secret," he said, "of being a foreman in this rather rough industry was you never let the horse know how strong he is. If he knew how strong he was, he'd grab the whip out of your hand and yell, 'God damn it, you pull the cart' so you never let'em know how strong he is."

And finally, there was one other finding we made. It is caused by the very things which help to uphold segregation and discrimination in the South and produce a structured society which is destructive to whites—namely, compulsive negativism or an increase in the number of people who have a real neurotic need to do exactly the opposite of what they feel the person they are with wants them to do. And I think this was best characterized by Professor Shifman at Duke who said to me: "The reason that many Southerners like to call themselves rebels is because they're not." This is the need of someone who feels himself controlled to continually prove his freedom.

So much for my pedantic research. I think that in the long run people don't really change their minds on the basis of research though I hope they do; but I have a feeling that people make moral judgments and that people who are against discrimination are against it because they think it is wrong to hurt somebody.

It is true that within the South discrimination has been upheld on the notion it was good for whites—which is rather dubious. But nonetheless, it's a moral issue, and I was reading just the other day (for the first time) something written by William Lloyd Garrison, the abolitionist. He was saying that people who wanted to count the number of lashes slaves received before they made a decision concerning slavery would never decide against it. And either one feels it is wrong to hurt people or one does not. But, nonetheless, those of us who are scientists like to know what the facts are and, indeed, the facts usually turn out to be friendly.

Question:

Would Dr. Clark comment in more detail concerning his remark about the Harlem school children who had the derogatory attitudes toward their teachers.

Clark:

I don't think I can give you the details, except to give you some general summary impressions. We had extensive depth interviews with young people in conducting our study. We had groups of them who met with us regularly. Over a period of a year-and-a-half of such discussions (all of them taped, by the way) I do not recall any youngster talking about school who had a generally positive attitude toward it or toward his teachers in general. Now, occasionally, a particular teacher might be singled out as being somewhat fair, but the over-all impression given of the teachers was not as models of excellence, fairness or justice, but for the most part, just the opposite. There is independent evidence which would give one a basis of determining how accurate this picture is. The most disturbing supporting evidence we have are the tapes from the teachers. We have interviews with the teachers; and the teachers' statements about the children match the children's statements about the teachers. What we do have here is a picture of a school situation in which the relationships between teachers and students are essentially that of adversaries. My question is what can one expect in the way of positive products of an educational experience in which teachers perceive their students as enemies and the students perceive the teachers as enemies? This is a deep feeling and it is also racial.

To further complicate matters, it is even racial where there are Negro teachers because the racial factor there becomes complicated by class. Initially we could not really differentiate between the attitudes of Negro teachers and those of white teachers toward these children until the Negro and white teachers began fighting among themselves.

Question:

Was this at the secondary or elementary level?

Clark:

Elementary and junior high school level.

Question:

Was this a random sampling?

Clark:

This is an important methodological qualification. This was not a random sampling and it could not be a random sample in the light of the method. It was a sampling of those who would talk with us.

Question:

Could you elaborate on the reasons why this relationship between student and teacher is being generated in Harlem?

Clark:

I think that Allison Davis' basic perspective concerning class seemed relevant here. These children are perceived by their teachers as lower class, working class, and not much is expected of them. The lower class patterns which they bring to the classroom seem to in some way threaten the teachers. I don't go all the way with Davis, because I do not think it is merely because these teachers have always been middle class in their origin. I think that the threat is even deeper than that. I think that the working class teacher, or the teacher who came from the working class background and who used education as a form of upward mobility is likely to be even more threatened by present working class youngsters. I think that the class factor here in its very complex ways is relevant to the adversary kind of relationship between teacher and pupil in deprived communities.

The other thing which is probably related to class, but which we tend to emphasize in our study, is the perception of the amount of power that the students have or do not have. I think that teachers tend to react to their pupils in terms of the teacher's concept of the consequences of negative reactions of the pupils and in a deprived community bureaucratic officials, not only teachers but police and everyone else, feel that they can get away with things that they might not be able to get away with in communities in which the parents or the families have more power. The average Harlem child is seen as powerless, defenseless, and therefore exploitable. The combination of class and perception of powerlessness is tied up with the whole problem of status and how bureaucracies and institutions react to people in terms of their estimates of how much status they have. That is why I think techniques for social change in the ghetto will have to build the kind of surrogate of power which middle class suburban communities reflect in terms of the combined power of their family or the prestige or status of the father, or whatever else scares the Hell out of teachers so that the teachers have to teach or else these people move in on them as they do in Scarsdale and New Rochelle.

In Harlem we know we don't have it in terms of the actual power of individuals and individual families so we are going to try to build it by some kind of social action machinery power that will keep the Board of Education, the teachers and the principal scared not to teach the kids.

Question:

How does one cope with the incompatible roles of being both a Negro and a scholar at the same time?

Clark:

First, let me say that in the many many years of talking on this problem it is my considered judgment that this is probably the most profound question I have ever been asked. It is one of the few questions

I have been asked that seems to me to get at the heart of an aspect of this problem that people do not usually talk about. This is all by way of saying I don't know how to answer your question.

All I know is that it is a very important question, and I'm not sure that I cope with it, and I'm not sure that I am dispassionate and objective or fit the usual academic requirements of objectivity, or am I sure that objectivity is necessarily relevant.

I think that the fact that America requires human intelligence to be directed at this stupid, idiotic (and you see how objective I am now), insane, fantastic issue that people are required to use good thinking power and energy to talk about whether witches do or do not exist; and what do you do with them. Do you let witches live or do you burn them? To discuss this, in the latter part of the 20th Century is fantastic, and I'm not sure whether it is a compliment to be told that one is scholarly in dealing with an essentially stupid, illogical, irrational kind of thing. I think that what your question has made me recognize is the possibility that I am insane, to be acting and talking about this insane issue.

Commentator:

This is a steady problem for those of us who claim to be scientists, but who also have very strong partisan views. In my own instance, the way I reconcile these issues is to say that as a sociologist and anthropologist, conducting research, I am bound by the rigor of science to find what exists, to put all my cards on the table; that it is the job of science to give us factual material which will help us better understand the structure and function of human groups. This is paramount. What I conduct my research in, or what my partisan affiliations are, are not relevant to my scientific role. I think that one uses biases in many instances in studying particular areas. My own happens to be race relations. When I enter into the study of race relations, for whatever non-scientific reasons, I am then bound by all the rigors of science to be honest and forthright and as objective as possible.

Question:

What program or proposals are you advocating to change the present situation as you have described it?

Clark:

I'll have to answer this question very briefly. At the heart of our proposals in the Harlem study is to organize the community for more effective use of community power. We are seeking to get the people in Harlem to realize that they do have some kind of power in collective action. Then we want to harness that power to specific kinds of things, such as schools. We want the people in Harlem not only to get better schools, by having somebody give it to them, but to get better schools by fighting for them, annoying everybody for them, and irritating them so that people will realize that these people are going to have power. We need job training, but not just a palliative kind of thing, but job training programs in which people not only get trained but also get trained in what they can do about discrimination once they are trained. Part of the training is social action. And in summary, our proposal is to tie any specific program that we have with social action, so that no program is independent of people mobilizing themselves to take on the responsibility for seeing that the society no longer short changes them.

Question:

How do you propose to get these people together collectively and specifically?

Clark:

In pretty much the way that labor unions got people together in unions, namely having labor organizers. And if this bothers you, it's got to bother you. People who are going to give us our money have to realize that we are going to send out into Harlem labor union type organizers to organize the people to demand the kinds of services which they have so far been denied. And this is no secret anymore. It was a secret for about 2 or 3 months.

Question:

Is there a substantive difference involving the relations between Negro children and middle-class Negro teachers who are members of the Negro race as compared with comparable relationships involving the membership in the Italian or Jewish or other ethnic groups?

Clark:

I don't know. I think that maybe one thing that is different is that in this interval of time since this was a problem for other groups, something new has been added in the whole educational sphere and that is progressive education; and it may be that the progressive education assumptions might have made the problem of the Negro middle-class teacher and the Negro working class student a little more confused, but I'm not sure.

Question:

The question is directed to the issue of the voluntary or what appears to be the voluntary resegregation of high school Negro youths in a desegregated situation.

Karon:

One of the things that struck me when I was doing some research was that in a Northern city we studied a school that had been a segregated high school only about three or four years (before I gathered my data which was around 1954) and they had desegregated. This meant that 85% of the children were Negroes, but there was a marked increase in morale at that time because of what this change meant. They were moving toward equality and they were now in a battle which was meaningful. This voluntary resegregation is a response to social pressures. I remember a reformatory where I worked in which the Negroes had voluntary segregation at all assemblies. There was an anti-discrimination law in the state but somehow at all public gatherings the Negroes sat on one side and the whites sat on the other side, and this was clearly voluntary. You could ask the superintendent and he'd tell you so; you could ask the assistant superintendent and he'd tell you so; or you could ask a Negro boy, and if he trusted you, he'd tell you there was a sergeant that would beat the devil out of you if you sat in the white section.

Unfortunately, desegregation does not always mean desegregation, and voluntary things don't always mean voluntary things. Sometimes they do but there are many sources of pressure. And in a particular situation one would have to ask what are the pressures? Are they community-wide, are they specific? It would be hard to know in advance.

There is one other issue that has been raised here about the teacher-student problem in schools in the North. And one of the things that I have seen both in Negro and white teachers who are nasty to their Negro kids was simply that they felt that the assignment to this school meant that they were not valued. They felt they had been assigned to an undesirable school. They felt the duty was punishment duty, and they therefore resented the kids because the kids reminded them that they were being given punishment duty.

Clark:

Professor Karon's point about this so-called voluntary segregation not always being voluntary reminded me that City College, where I teach, is an institution that has a reputation for being about as free of racial pressures and discriminatory patterns as any institution in America, but a chronic social problem, one that's been there as long as I've been there—is that in the cafeteria the Negro students have a Jim-Crow table, Jim-Crow section, and this is embarrassing. It is embarrassing to the president of the college who is a member of the Board of Directors of the NAACP. It was embarrassing to his predecessor, and it was embarrassing to me. I called a number of Negro students into my office about 10 years ago when I didn't know any better, and I said, "Look, why? Why are you doing this?" And particularly the girls, they looked at me and said, "Look, let's not kid ourselves. Lunch time is the time when people make their dates, and we'd be wasting our time if we sat at the tables with people who are not going to invite us for the Friday night dances." Well, once they told me that I just stopped interfering. (These were forces beyond my control at work.)

Question:

Quite often children associate with those children with whom they grow up caused by a neighborhood housing pattern not segregation. Kids walk to and from school with the same children. It is quite natural for them to associate at times of recess and leisure with these children.

Clark:

I would like to go back to something that I mentioned in re-reading the social science brief. We cannot talk about any particular form of segregation without seeing it within the total context of racial practices in the larger society. Merely because you have a desegregated school where everything else in society remains constant, it will mean that in that desegregated school you are going to have some of the continuing expressions of racism and segregation which exists in the larger society.

Question:

Do you have any suggestions as to how to deal with youngsters in the schoolroom who have needs and values which are not compatible with those of the teacher or the school system?

Karon:

First of all, the job of the teacher is an incredible one, but it has been typically a socializing one in American society. The teachers have had an inordinate influence in making the accommodation to American society for most immigrant groups. Negro children have a special problem. The teacher must be aware that they have a legitimate problem and a legitimate gripe. The teacher must not pretend there is no problem. The clearest way for a Negro to have problems is to pretend there is no problem. There is a battle, and the teacher must channel this aggression constructively into seeing school as the way to win this battle, and not minimize the battle, the struggle, and the special problem. The teacher must clearly identify with the struggle of the children.

One of the problems many people in Western society face is a lack of meaning in their lives, but there is at least one thing that Negro

Americans have that others do not have, and that is a purpose outside themselves which is clearly worthwhile which they can clearly work toward. And this is an asset in adjustment. And I think that the teacher has got to identify with the struggle and to get the kid to see his education as part of winning that struggle.

Clark:

I agree but would only add that is the first step. The next step is maintaining standards and helping the individual to build a positive sense of himself through realistic achievement. I think that the recognition of the problem is a valid need but if the recognition then means dilution of the educational process in order to accommodate to the problem, then all that is being done is re-enforcing the problem and not using the educational process as a technique of liberation.

I completely agree with Professor Karon that you cannot deny that the Negro child comes into the classroom with anxieties, hypersensitivities, hostilities, or dependencies. But you must use this to help him secure the equipment and the skill which he will need, maybe more than others, to compete successfully with others. You must not use it to cripple him, to be so solicitous of his problems that you don't teach him to read, and then tell me that you aren't teaching him to read because he has problems. You're going to have more problems if he can't read.

Karon:

May I add, too, that what I think has been suggested, is that you can't leave the process of genuine integration to chance. I think you have got to realize that just to desegregate or just to bring children together in a new situation, especially in the context of the larger society, is not going to do the job. But you've got to work at it directly and maybe some students in Indiana and elsewhere should take it upon themselves to try to break this pattern. I think teacher education should make teachers aware of this new situation.

THE ORGANIZATION OF INTEGRATED SCHOOL DISTRICTS: THE NEW ROCHELLE STORY

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Introduction

When the schools of the nation reopened last Fall many communities in the North as well as the South were the scene of disruptive discord and occasional violence. In New Rochelle, New York, the city which in 1961 achieved notoriety as "the Little Rock of the North," classes began in September with only the ripple of excitement which all teachers, new and seasoned, experience at the beginning of a new year and a fresh start. In place of the educational, social and economic disaster predicted by the rigidly doctrinaire adherents of neighborhood school policy, integrated classes in previously lily white schools started on a note of efficient optimism which plunged the professional crepehangers into the bottomless despair they feel whenever things turn out well. "How," one may ask in the words of the international wire service which carried the story to all parts of the country and the world, "did hope oust fear in New Rochelle?"

Neighborhood Schools: Accommodation or Abandonment?

The answer lies in the fact that a courageous and farsighted school board recognized that *de facto* school segregation is essentially a denial of equality of educational opportunity. While reaffirming its belief in the general principle of neighborhood schools, the board wisely decided that a too rigid adherence to the traditional neighborhood school policy would result in community conflict and litigation which would serve only to accelerate the adoption of a policy of open enrollment and the ultimate abandonment of neighborhood schools altogether.

School board and administration were in agreement that, all things being equal, the neighborhood school policy constituted the best guide for school organization. But where other factors were not equal, neighborhood school policy would not be permitted to take precedence over the school board's moral and legal responsibility to provide equality of opportunity and the highest quality of education to every child in the public schools, limited only by the financial resources of the community and the aspirations of the parents for their children. The New Rochelle experience

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indicates that the neighborhood school's worst enemies are those of its intransigent "friends" who destroy its very foundations by a willingness to throw a community into internecine conflict rather than accommodate to the social and educational realities of the day, let alone the enduring moral imperatives which speak directly to our hearts.

The Lincoln School: Problem and Solution.

New Rochelle, a city of 83,000, located less than 20 miles from the heart of New York's Manhattan, was founded by the Huguenots in 1688. It is an interesting fact that when the first official census of the community was held in 1698, Negroes constituted almost exactly the same proportion of the population as they do today—18%. New Rochelle at the time was entirely agrarian, and the Negro residents were slaves. After 1801, when New York State provided for the gradual abolition of slavery, the percentage of Negroes continued to decline so that in 1860 only 6% of the population was Negro. Since the beginning of this century, the city has been attracting an increasing number of Negroes but it is interesting to observe that in the last six years the proportion of Negroes in the public schools has not varied more than a fraction of one percent. The idea that Negroes are moving into New Rochelle in large numbers is a widely believed myth.

New Rochelle's single comprehensive high school presented no problem. There was good racial balance in its two junior high schools and eight of its twelve elementary schools. Three other elementary schools were located in areas in which virtually no Negro family had ever resided since the days of slavery. In this apparently placid, successfully integrated community, Lincoln School was the exception. Constructed in 1898, it was surrounded by predominantly Negro housing. Negro children constituted 94% of its student body.

The school board argued that since *de facto* segregation in the Lincoln School resulted from housing patterns, the board was under no obligation to remedy a situation it had not created. When the board took action to rebuild Lincoln School on the same site, the progressive Negro leadership and sympathetic whites viewed the strong support of this referendum by the majority of white residents as an attempt to contain the colored school child in the more densely populated ghetto of the city's central area. Mr. Paul Zuber filed a complaint in Federal Court which the United States Civil Rights Commission report in 1962 characterized as "a frontal assault on the problem of *de facto* segregation." The plaintiffs, in a class action, charged that the board of education had deliberately created and maintained Lincoln School as a racially segregated school in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. In a historic decision on January 24, 1961, Judge Irving R. Kaufman found that the school board in 1930 had gerrymandered the Lincoln School attendance zone in order that a large portion of its white pupils would be excluded and permitted to attend the nearby Webster and Mayflower Schools. The Court further found that within the four years following, the Lincoln School boundaries were manipulated so as to contain the increasing Negro population, and that until 1949, the board maintained Lincoln School as a Negro school by permitting white pupils living within the Lincoln School attendance area to transfer to schools outside the district. Finally, Judge Kaufman found that after 1949 when further transfers were forbidden, the school board took no action to undo the racial imbalance which it had brought about.

Accordingly, the Court ordered the school board to prepare a plan for desegregating Lincoln School. Finding the plan which the school board subsequently submitted unsatisfactory, the Court issued its own order. The Court's decree, in essence, provided for a completely optional transfer of all Lincoln pupils to any schools with sufficient room to receive them. A number of other provisions were included in the decree in order to effectuate the spirit of the plan, but the decree provided that the school board was under no obligation to provide transportation to Lincoln School pupils who transferred to other schools. In order to assure full compliance with the decree, the Court took jurisdiction over this case which it retains to the present day.

New Rochelle was shocked by the Court's decision. The community was immediately split by the question: Should Judge Kaufman's decision be appealed? Unfortunately, the board decided to appeal, but it should be noted that some of the board members who favored an appeal were men of the highest integrity and had distinguished themselves in the past as fighters against discrimination. As the appeal was carried up to the appeal court and finally to the highest court the bitterness on both sides mounted steadily. The antagonism in the community may be gauged by the fact that when the United States Supreme Court denied certiorari on Decemeber 11, 1962, the school board supporters argued that denial was in effect an admission by the highest court in the land that if it had reviewed the case it would have been compelled to reverse the findings of the lower courts. Fortunately, the majority of the community recognized the Supreme Court's action as the last skirmish in a legal battle which had severely damaged the community.

By the end of the 1961-62 school year the litigation, following Judge Kaufman's prophecy, had "so inflamed the emotions of the partisans" that one group spurred on by an aggressive Negro leadership was asking that the problem of *de facto* segregation be solved "immediately". Meanwhile, the other group was insisting on the continuation of the inherent constraints of a neighborhood school policy which in effect responded to "today" with "never".

At this stage of affairs, a new school board majority emerged, and a new school superintendent was appointed. Four members of the board expressed their approval of the new superintendent, but resigned the following day. Working with a screening committee of civic and educational leaders, the Mayor, determined to restore harmony to the public schools and the community, appointed four distinguished citizens to the board of education. A few days after the new school board was reorganized in July 1962, the administration and board began work on a plan for remedying the educational ills of the community.

During the year that followed, New Rochelle was a community in crisis. The Federal Court case with its conflicting testimony had not only sharpened the issues but aroused personal animosities which were destined to last for some time. The group to whom the term "integrationist" was applied proudly by itself and pejoratively by the opposition felt that its philosophy had been supported by the courts. In general this group believed that the transfer of Negro pupils from Lincoln School to other schools should be accelerated until the school could be emptied and closed.

Only rarely did one hear a frankly racist argument against school integration. Many who opposed the closing of Lincoln School couched their opposition on constitutional grounds and adopted a high moral tone. Happily, only a small number of citizens openly supported a policy of containment of the Negro children of the central area of the city in the Lincoln School. The most active leaders of the group opposing the closing of Lincoln School advocated integration but simultaneously insisted that this be accomplished without changing the Lincoln School boundary lines. Since it was obvious that no appreciable number of white families were going to move into the Negro ghetto, this argument appeared disingenuous at best to the most charitable of observers. The Negro leadership, increasingly aggressive and effective, recognized this ploy for what it was, and the Lincoln School became to them a hated symbol of discrimination and inequality of opportunity.

Those white people in the community who, for a variety of reasons, continued to assert the special values of the neighborhood school policy were given strong support by a group of Negro parents who lived in the Lincoln School area and believed that the Lincoln School children were entitled to their own neighborhood school. Even in this relatively small sub-group of the Lincoln School parents, opinions varied widely. At one extreme were the few who openly espoused a Black Muslim philosophy, and at the public hearings on the school board's comprehensive plan frankly expressed the belief that the Negro children could only be damaged by association with white children. At the other end of the spectrum were those Negro parents who admitted freely that a school containing whites as well as Negroes was better than an all Negro school, but argued that since the white community had ghettoized the Negroes residentially within a restricted area, a school with wholesome racial balance should be created by assigning to the Lincoln School white children from the outlying schools of the city. This argument was most useful to a small group of white supremacists who determined to keep Negroes out of the white schools at all costs, but, finding themselves unable to undergird their positions securely with morally acceptable arguments, systematically spread the falsehood that the Board was planning to transport as many white children as was necessary as great a distance as was required to create elementary schools throughout the city which would be racially, religiously and economically homogeneous. At one of the public hearings when a Negro parent made an eloquent and stirring plea for keeping Lincoln School open, the Negroes present received his remarks with varying degrees of acceptance and disapproval. A sizable group of white citizens, however, broke into tumultuous applause and gave the speaker a standing ovation.

In May 1963 the board of education presented to the people of the community, a 23 page single spaced document, *A Comprehensive Plan for Educational Excellence.*[*] During the weeks that followed, members of the board and administration addressed thirty meetings and conducted two public hearings, each of which attracted more than a thousand citizens.

The seven recommendations contained in the comprehensive plan were designed to bring about the elimination of *de facto* segregation as a by-product of the improvement of educational quality in every aspect of the total school program. In addition to (1) administrative reorganization, the plan called for (2) a change in grade organization from the district's present 6-3-3 plan to a 5-3-4 plan of grade organization in September 1964. A number of purely educational reasons of the most compelling character were advanced for a four-year high school; but simultaneously, the process of school integration was accelerated by providing a single comprehensive high school for all the youth of the community and moving the sixth year of the elementary school into the two existing junior high schools which were already enjoying a desirable racial balance. The removal of another 1000 pupils from neighborhood schools to racially balanced intermediate schools would integrate another 1000 children a year earlier and ease overcrowding in these schools at the same time. Whereas additions to overcrowded neighborhood schools might bring about sectional strife, expansion of the central high school facility could be expected to receive the approval of all sections of the city.

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[*] Board of Education, New Rochelle, New York. *A Comprehensive Plan for Educational Excellence: A Report to All Citizens of New Rochelle.*

The opponents of the Board's plan described the pupil transportation proposal as unhealthful, hazardous and costly. The Board's estimates of the costs of transportation were criticized by the opposition as being fantastically low; some citizens asserted that the cost of pupil transportation would be so high that teachers could no longer expect to be paid adequately and that the local tax burden would become unbearable.*

The item of the plan which created the greatest controversy was the proposal that Lincoln School, now reduced to 200 pupils, be closed as of June 30, 1963, and that the pupils be permitted to transfer to other schools. Since many Negro parents wished to send their children to integrated schools not too far from home, the schools nearest Lincoln were enrolling a larger percentage of Negro boys and girls each year. The rapid increase of Negro pupils in the schools contiguous to Lincoln accelerated the flight of white families from neighborhoods which had for years justly prided themselves on their integrated character. In effect, a policy of open enrollment was a cure that was worse than the disease. Unchecked, New Rochelle would have not one but three or more predominantly Negro schools.

Accordingly, the Board of Education found it necessary to apply to Judge Kaufman for a modification of his decree. By this time the entire pupil population of Lincoln School was less than half what it was when the Court entered its original decree; only 200 pupils had chosen to remain. An analysis of the present situation and an extrapolation of the trend into the future indicated to the board that the continued operation of the Lincoln School had become economically unfeasible, due to the greatly diminished pupil population and high maintenance overhead. Although the average per pupil cost in all the New Rochelle elementary schools was $877 per pupil, the cost of educating a child at Lincoln was $1,057. More important than the financial considerations were the human values involved. The school board had accepted the findings of the Brown case: segregated education was inherently inferior.

The school board's application to the Court urged Judge Kaufman to consider the fact that strict compliance with the original decree, once the Lincoln School would close down, would pose a serious threat of *de facto* racial segregation in the schools contiguous to Lincoln if the plan of free optional transfer was continued. If the remaining pupils at Lincoln were permitted to exercise a free choice of the school to which they were to be transferred, two or more additional elementary schools would become racially imbalanced.

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* The actual total cost of transporting 691 students during the school year 1963-1964 amounted to $70,000, of which some $63,000 was State reimbursable and $7,000 was paid by the local taxpayers. A somewhat more generous deployment of personnel and buses may run the cost a little higher during next year.

Judge Kaufman recognized that the board's application for a modification of the decree was a "commendable and farsighted step in projecting the philosophy which underlay the original decree," and that the letter of the decree would have to be changed in order that its spirit might best be perpetuated. Praising the wisdom of the school board, Judge Kaufman in an eloquent opinion stated, "Obstruction, delay and unrest have characterized much of our national struggle against educational and racial inequality. But this small Northern community—whose population, composed of various races and religions, might represent our nation in microcosm—has provided this nation with an example and a model of sound public leadership . . . . Indeed, the immediate and energetic effort of the School Board to comply with this Court's mandate might well be viewed as a precursor of the widely-acclaimed position taken only last week by James E. Allen, Jr., Commissioner of Education for the State of New York."

The school board proposed to provide bus transportation to Lincoln School pupils, on the identical basis to that provided for all pupils in the first six grades of all schools, public and private, throughout New Rochelle. Any child living within 1½ miles and 10 miles from the school would be transported at school board expense. Since 90% of these transportation costs would be paid for by the State, the cost to the local taxpayer would be only 10%, and the burden was, in Judge Kaufman's words, "infinitestimal when compared to its benefits." Accordingly, the Court eliminated from its original order the paragraph decreeing that Lincoln transferees were to provide their own transportation.

But the more fundamental modification of the decree and, indeed, the historic step, was the adoption by the Court of the board's proposal that the optional transfer plan be discontinued and that the board be permitted to *assign* pupils residing within the Lincoln district where necessary to secure or maintain racial balance within the elementary school system. In effect, the Court gave the board wide discretion in the assignment of pupils to effectuate the principles enunciated in the original opinion of the Court. The Court continued its retention of jurisdiction over the case so that compliance with the spirit of the decree and the general principles of equity would be ensured. "The nation will now observe," Judge Kaufman concluded, "how men of compassion and foresight have faced up to the racial problem of their community and with courage undertaken the task of solving it."

Rehabilitating "the Public Image" of the Community.

In 1961, New Rochelle was front page news because it condoned segregation. The day after Judge Kaufman's modification of his decree, the New Rochelle school board made news because it was deliberately and effectively facilitating integration. As the *New York Herald Tribune* headlined the story: "FULL CIRCLE IN NEW ROCHELLE; Break for Negro Pupils." But the period of time between these two events was a most difficult one.

With school systems as with men, a good reputation must be gained by many actions, and can be lost by one. An early citizen of New Rochelle, Tom Paine, once said that "Reputation is what men and women think of us; character is what God and the angels know of us." Restoring the reputation of the New Rochelle school system to the very high position it held for many years has been a major concern of the school board and administration during the past months. Since the New Rochelle case ended in the only court decision up to the present time in which a Northern community was found to have violated the Supreme Court ruling of 1954, the school board grew accustomed to operating in the glare of national publicity. Ironically, the school board this past year, despite its progressive and farsighted policies, found it necessary to defend itself against undeserved criticism which continued to appear in the press, even after the official record made it perfectly clear that the board was determined to come to grips with the problem of *de facto* segregation.

For example, John Kaplan[*] in his report to the United States Commission on Civil Rights made the penetrating observation that the elimination of the Lincoln School problem might move the civil rights battle to another terrain. The day after the report was made public, a story appeared in the *New York Daily News* under the headline, "D.C. UNIT HITS NEW ROCHELLE ON SCHOOL BIAS," and quoted the Washington News Bureau story as follows: The Civil Rights Commission charged today that "rigid ability grouping" practiced in one of two junior high schools in New Rochelle, N.Y., could lead to racial headaches in that city. The report branded New Rochelle, "the Little Rock of the North." It said that grouping practice in a school, which it did not name, has left "few if any Negroes in the fastest classes, and a preponderance in the slowest . . . . This type of grouping has been called a method of segregating Negro children and perpetuating the unfair treatment they receive in elementary schools," the report added.

Though standing committees of a school board usually frustrate rather than encourage effective management, the administration itself called for the appointment of a board committee on public information. Two board members who operate businesses within the city have worked closely with the superintendent's staff to get the real facts to the people during the past year. They have been helped in this task by a local daily newspaper with an education editor who can interpret as well as report school news with objectivity and intelligence.

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[*] *Civil Rights U.S.A., Public Schools, Cities in the North and West,* 1962.

"What is Past is Prologue."

The New Rochelle school board has very wisely recognized that mere desegregation is no panacea for the Negro child's personality difficulties. Desegregation tends to create new problems of adjustment; especially so when it follows in the wake of serious community conflict. Desegregation obviously cannot overcome long-standing handicaps which some Negro children bring with them when they arrive in kindergarten. Cultural impoverishment, lack of motivation, distrust of teachers who represent the middle class majority group cannot be corrected by desegregation alone.

But no matter how long the journey, one cannot start unless one takes the first step. Closing Lincoln School and exposing our Negro children to the white children of our other schools was that indispensible first step. Not only the school board and the administration, but the entire school staff now has the continuing responsibility of stimulating Negro parents to encourage their children to leave the warm sheltering nest of their own segregated culture and move into the wider world, rather than permit them to use prejudice and discrimination as an excuse for lack of striving and withdrawal from a full life. Once again the lesson has been brought home that there is no real growth without pain.

The New Rochelle Board of Education, school administration and professional staff are deeply committed to research and experimentation in general, and to making a major contribution to educating the culturally deprived in particular. A number of researches are under way; the need for others has become apparent. A brief description of our activities follows.

The board has already appropriated $18,000 for a grouping study designed to analyze and improve the school achievement of the culturally deprived. The administration is now at work on a research proposal for submission to a philanthropic foundation which will seek financial support for a program of compensatory education for four-year-olds, so that culturally deprived children may enter the formal school situation in such a manner that they will be able to compete on relatively equal terms with children from privileged homes. What is urgently needed is a comprehensive program of compensatory education which will enable the Negro (or any member of a disadvantaged group) to enjoy the opportunity for equality. In the long run, this must become not only a New Rochelle practice, but the public policy of the State of New York. If the integration of the Negro into American society is to become a reality, the support of local school boards, even those as dedicated and courageous as New Rochelle's, will not suffice.

Homogenous ability grouping requires careful reevaluation. In a newly desegregated school such grouping provides an outlet for prejudice in the name of an "approved educational technique." There is considerable evidence that such grouping lowers the Negro child's ego and level of aspiration and simultaneously rigidifies teachers' expectations in a negative manner.

Although there is evidence of tension among Negro children during the initial stage of integration, research is needed to determine how much discomfort children can tolerate without injury. Keeping Negro children "comfortable" is obviously not the answer. It is circular reasoning to suggest that Negro personality "problems" can be dealt with effectively by continuing the segregation which produced these problems in the first place.

Although we have a high respect for creativity, we tend to structure the school situation in terms of intelligence test results and achievement test scores. Research devoted to the identification of the emotional and higher cognitive processes and the provision of creativity-stimulating school situations is vitally needed. Although complex and expensive, such research holds much promise for the ultimate integration of Negro children.

A research proposal dealing with a program of compensatory education for four-year-olds has been prepared and submitted to the State Education Department. This proposal was enthusiastically received by State Department officials and Dr. James E. Allen, Jr. Commissioner Allen last month sent a most persuasive memorandum to the Governor and legislative leaders requesting a special state appropriation for experimental programs at the nursery school level. Unfortunately the legislature adjourned without taking action on this farsighted recommendation.

Interracial suspicion and animosity are not reduced by mere contact. There is some evidence that when white children from overwhelmingly white elementary schools enter junior high schools in which there are a sizable proportion of Negroes, the initial interactions tend to increase the emotional turbulence which already characterizes the years of early adolescence. It appears that the difficulty of junior high school adjustment is correlated positively with attendance in elementary schools which are almost entirely uniracial.

Every school in New Rochelle is now to some extent biracial in pupil population and in staff. There are administrators of oriental origin, Negro principals and Negro teachers. Unaided common sense tells us such staffing is helpful but it would be worthwhile to study more precisely the dynamics involved in such leadership in various situation.

In New Rochelle, as elsewhere throughout the country, it can be taken for granted that new teacher appointments to the school system, even when they come from colleges and teacher training institutions of the highest rank, have had little if any training in the area of human relations. I have dealt elsewhere with steps taken to help teachers in the New Rochelle schools to accept this responsibility and discharge it effectively.*

Miss June Shagaloff:

We all recognize the great revolution affecting the whole complex of white-Negro relationships in the United States set in motion by the May 17th decision by the United States Supreme Court 10 years ago. It is somewhat ironic, therefore, that in evaluating what changes have taken place in the area of school desegregation in the South to note that the Court's decision has had the least impact in the very area on which the decision was based — namely, school desegregation. Viewed as a region as a whole, only 9.6 per cent of the total number of Negro students in the South are now attending bi-racial, non-segregated public schools. That would mean that if the pace of desegregation continues at the same rate in the South, it will take about one hundred years before we could look forward to approaching complete desegregation. But the figures for the deep Southern states, those Southern states that were part of the old Confederacy, are even more appalling. I am not a mathematician and I had to check my own arithmetic about five times before I could believe my own figures. For the deep Southern states, only 1 per cent of the total number of Negro children are now attending desegregated schools, and according to my figure, this would mean that complete desegregation will occur 1000 years after the May 17th decision in 1954! But there is no question that the May 17th decision has had a tremendous effect on schools that are racially concentrated (politely called racially imbalanced) or the *de facto* segregated schools throughout the North and the West.

The New York City Board of Education was the first school board in the country to recognize that the May 17th decision posed a challenge to Northern school boards as well as to Southern school boards for them to implement not only the requirements of the May 17th decision but its spirit also. The issue in New York City today is not one of policy, for that Board of Education has perhaps one of the best policies in the country on the question, but the issue rather is effective and meaningful implementation of that policy.

In 1962, there were six Northern communities throughout the country that were faced with the problem of eliminating the racial concentration or segregation that existed in their public schools. In January of 1962, the NAACP launched a nation-wide school desegregation drive throughout the West and North which has been extended to approximately 86 public school systems, city and suburban communities, literally from coast to coast. In the process, we have not only examined school policies and practices, engaged in meetings and negotiations with school officials, and called for protest demonstrations with school officials who refused to face the issue, but we have also filed approximately 19 legal actions before state commissioners of education in the state courts and in the federal courts challenging the constitutionality of *de facto* segregated schools.

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* Salten, D. G. "Education in Race Relations." *Religious Education*, Jan.-Feb., 1964, pp. 37-43.

There is certainly increasing recognition throughout the country, and resistance too I must add, to the fact that *de facto* segregated schools or that segregated public education in any form is inherently discriminatory and is harmful educationally and psychologically not only for Negro children, but for white children as well.

The New York and New Jersey state commissioners of education have ruled on specific complaints that have been brought before them by the NAACP, both ruling in essence that the existing segregation, even though it may not have been deliberately intended or created, was educationally harmful, and therefore both commissioners of education have directed local school officials to take whatever steps may be necessary to eliminate existing segregation to the fullest extent possible, regardless of the cause.

The California State Board of Education has adopted an official policy calling for consideration of racial and ethnic integration in the drawing of school zone lines, the consolidating of school districts, and in site selections for new schools.

The position of the courts at this moment is confusing. There have been conflicting rulings: in California the State Supreme Court in a case we brought against the Board of Education in Pasadena ruled a year ago that *de facto* segregation was discriminatory, inherently unequal, and violated the United States Constitution, regardless of intent. The New York State courts have ruled on a complaint that was filed by several white parents, challenging the zoning of a new junior high school in New York City where the Board of Education took into consideration the principle of racial integration in zoning for this new school. The white parents won their suit in the lower state courts, and lost an appeal yesterday (May, 1964). The highest court of appeals in New York State held that the Board of Education in New York City had not only the right but the obligation to take into consideration, in drawing school zone lines and considering sites for new schools, the principle and the fact of racial integration.

The Gary decision has been grossly misrepresented by the newspapers and by others. The Supreme Court of the United States did not rule on the merits of the case. It simply decided, for whatever reasons of its own, that it did not at this time want to hear the arguments on the merit of the issues in the Gary case, and left standing a decision of the lower courts, which did not require the Gary Board of Education to eliminate the existing racial concentration in the schools. But there is another Federal Court case which has been reasoned very differently from the Gary case, and which is in direct conflict to the Gary decision, and that is a case we filed in Manhasset against the Manhasset New York Board of Education. The judge in the New York District Court ruled that the existing segregation of students in an elementary school was inherently discriminatory, and harmful educationally, and did violate the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution. And it directed the Manhasset Board of Education to put into effect, this coming September, a plan of desegregation, even though the Manhasset Board of Education was not held in any way whatsoever responsible for having created that racial concentration. Much to our regret this case is not being appealed. The Supreme Court of the United States must hear arguments on the merits of this issue to decide really the constitutionality, or, as we contend, the unconstitutionality of any kind of segregation in public education.

The experience in New Rochelle, which is now a success story, reflects all the aspects of the struggle now taking place in some 86 or 87 school systems across the country. While Dr. Salten has praised a courageous Board of Education for the change, I would like to herald a committed and courageous superintendent of schools who not only approached this problem with his mind, but also with his heart.

The whole problem of *de facto* segregated schools, I think, is not only one of the most complex civil rights issues, but one of the most complex educational issues. And perhaps the main reason it is so difficult to solve is that we are dealing with an entrenched and often incompetent bureaucratic institution of American life. I have a running battle with the labor secretary of the NAACP as to which is the more entrenched institution in our society, the public school or the big corporation.

Not long ago we had a demonstration in front of General Motors in Detroit protesting discriminatory employment practices, and within a few days the NAACP was contacted by Ford Motor Company, by Chrysler and by other big automobile corporations, proposing a meeting between the corporations and the NAACP to discuss the problems of discrimination in employment. And I could not help reflecting how many demonstrations would have to be held on the issue of *de facto* segregated schools before this American institution responded to pressure in any form.

It seems to me that the problem that faces us is not only the question of how do we deal with the transition from a segregated to a d segregated school system, with community and parent resistance from segments of the white community, but how do we deal with an institution that is so resistant to change generally, and when the issue is desegregation even more resistant.

I think there are certain factors in the New Rochelle experience that we are concerned with everywhere. First and foremost is the problem of leadership by the Board of Education and by the Superintendent of Schools. I hope some day somebody can deal very frankly and candidly with the very complex and sometimes difficult role that a superintendent of schools holds when he must face not only the administrative problems, but also the problems posed by a board of education reflective of the political interests in the community. How do you deal with the resistance in the community based on what I call the four myths of *de facto* segregation: first, the blind adherence to a non-existent neighborhood school policy (and I say non-existent because the neighborhood school concept as it is now being discussed in this country is not a neighborhood school concept based on geography or of distance, but is a neighborhood based on color and class). Thus, the extent of segregated housing patterns permits the school officials and others in the community to misinterpret this issue. I suspect, based on our examinations of school systems throughout the country, that there are far more Negro children who are being assigned to schools on the basis of the real neighborhood school policy, that of distance, than are white children. There are communities, for example Englewood, where if white children had been assigned to the neighborhood school, meaning the school closest to their home, they would have been attending predominantly Negro schools. I think this whole concept of neighborhood schools has been distorted and is being misused.

There is also the myth of the culturally deprived children, and I here want to suggest that the children who are being stigmatized so frequently as culturally deprived children, are children who should really be called educationally deprived children, children who have been assigned to schools that are not only segregated, with all of the restrictions and handicaps implicit in segregation itself, but schools which are unequal in other respects educationally. And I want to add one other concept of the culturally deprived child. I think this is a new Northern stereotype, and a most vicious one because it suggests a direct relationship between socio-economic factors, the income of a child's family and related factors, and the ability of that child to learn. We know of many studies that show the correlation between socio-economic factors and achievement and performance, but we do not know of any studies that show the relationship between socio-economic considerations and the ability of a child to learn, if he is exposed to a learning experience that meets his needs.

Some years ago I had the opportunity of working with Dr. Clark on a study of the effectiveness of desegregation transitions. This was before the May 17th decision and, as a matter of fact, the study was undertaken in preparation for the re-arguments in the United States Supreme Court on the Southern School segregation issue. At that time we examined desegregation transitions not only in the area of the public schools, but in many other areas: that of employment, housing, public accomodation, hospitals and in the armed forces. In this study, which was reported in a special issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* in 1953, we noted that in those transitions from segregation to desegregation there were always certain factors shared, regardless of whether the desegregation took place in public schools, employment or the armed forces. Where there was firm and unequivocal leadership by those who were in a position to determine policy, and where those policymakers enforced the new policy of non-segregation clearly and firmly, and where the same bodies or the same persons were willing and able to meet resistance to change by firm enforcement of the new policy of non-segregation, then desegregation took place effectively. When these factors were absent from the process of change, then there were difficulties in terms of the effectiveness and resistance to desegregation. These factors of clear, firm, and unequivocal leadership concerning the new policy of desegregation seemed to be determining, not the question of time for change and not the question of preparation for change, and not the technical aspect of what plans of desegregation should be used. And although there has been no follow-up study on this, I don't know of any experiences in the area of school desegregation, North or South, that would violate any of the factors that were isolated at that time.

Then, there is the technical question of plans of desegregation. There are some 32 communities throughout the North and the West that have each effectively and successfully eliminated or have taken the initial steps to eliminate existing segregation. The plans have varied, depending upon the judgment and the determination of local school officials, but in each instance, the desegregation that has been effective has resulted from clear recognition that a problem exists, that *de facto* segregation is harmful educationally for all children, and that it must be dealt with.

The plans of desegregation have varied. Rezoning has proven to be very effective as in the Princeton Plan whereby schools in adjacent attendance areas are combined into a single school zone, and children then assigned to schools on the basis of grade. As a result, under the Princeton Plan, one school, the formerly all Negro school, would house grades 1, 2, and 3, and the formerly all white school would house grades 4, 5, and 6. This plan, where it has been adapted to a local school system, or within a local school system, has proven most effective. Area pairings of schools, or the concept of the Princeton Plan for large numbers of schools, is another approach that is being proposed. The establishment of centralized schools, the 4th, 5th and 6th grade schools, serving a larger geographical area is still another approach. A number of communities have desegregated by reorganizing the use of schools. Englewood, New Jersey, converted the segregated Lincoln elementary school to a central 6th grade school, serving the entire school district, re-assigning Negro pupils who had been attending that school to existing schools. Still other school systems have closed their schools, but reorganizing the use of schools has proven to be very effective. Changing feeder patterns of elementary to junior to senior high schools is still another approach; and still another is the new concept of the educational park, or the educational center, to a much larger geographical area, drawing both from white and Negro residential areas. A very careful school expansion program including appropriate site selections for new schools is essential in the long-run solution to the problem.

There is one plan of desegregation that has proven to be least effective, and that is the plan of open enrollment initially instituted in New Rochelle, whereby children may attend schools of their choice with spaces available. This has proven to be the least effective simply because it accomplishes the least desegregation and involves the smallest part of the community in the transition from segregation to desegregation.

There seems to be one consistent factor throughout all of these plans in terms of resistance, and that is while resistance on the part of some segments of the white community is always present, there appears to be greater resistance when the plan of desegregation calls for the assignment of white pupils to what are now the segregated Negro schools. This is not a resistance based solely on concern for educational standards or class differences, because we can cite suburban communities where it was recognized that there were very little class differences between white and Negro communities and where the schools servicing the Negro children were on a par educationally, except for the factor of segregation, with other schools. Yet the resistance in these communities has been just as great as the resistance of white New York City parents to sending their children to schools that they consider to be not only segregated, inadequate, but also attended by children of lower socioeconomic classes.

I want to conclude only by indicating that this issue is not going to disappear. On the contrary, our efforts will be accelerated and intensified wherever necessary; and I think there have been ample predictions of even more dramatic demonstrations in order to create an awareness in otherwise apathetic communities, and to use the demonstrations, together with the litigation on this issue as a means of reaching a power structure that cannot otherwise be moved. Dr. Keppart, speaking at a meeting of school administrators some months ago, commented on this issue by saying, "Thank God for the civil rights movement because now we can begin to look forward to the educational reforms that should have taken place for all children all these years." And we are proceeding with the conviction that the benefits of desegregation educationally, generally and specifically, are not only for the Negro children but for all children. And it then becomes possible after having achieved a school system which is desegregated to the fullest extent possible, where maximum desegregation has been achieved, to consider all the areas of concern for both white and Negro children in a truly integrated school system.

William Roe:

I wish I could be as sure of myself concerning this topic as my fellow members of the panel appear to be. I wish, too, I could be as naive about this problem as my son was when he went to school on the first day. There was a Negro boy in his school for the first time, and he came home to me and he said, "Daddy, we have a Negro boy in our school." I said, "Oh." He said, "And he's black." I said, "Oh." He said, "I think he catches it from his Mommy and his Daddy." This is what I think in many cases might be a naive approach to a problem, but by the very naivite perhaps would solve many of the problems that we actually have.

Mr. Salten, in his story, made it sound so very pat; yet it did require court cases in order to arrive near a solution. It did require much community strife. And this very simplicity of the story oftentimes beguiles us into a feeling that this problem is one that can be simply handled by everyone just accepting the same ideas that I have.

Miss Shagaloff very ably presented the problem, but she too disposed of it by calling the concept of the community or neighborhood school (a major problem of the school administrator) a myth. Let me assure you that the concept and philosophy of the community school and the neighborhood school is not a myth. Let me assure you as a person who has been through extensive programs in school administration, who has visited hundreds of schools, who has attended hundreds of conferences, that the community and the neighborhood school concept is a very real philosophy which people believe, which hundreds of people have devoted their lives to, and which is not a myth. It is not an excuse for segregated schools, but is a philosophy which is part of our whole democratic concept. These problems cannot be disposed of simply by calling them myths or calling them stereotypes.

Now, I would like to raise a few questions which I think are quite important as far as this whole problem is concerned. But let me first point out two or three things that come directly from my experience as a person who was trained in school administration.

Much of the training that I had, and much of the training that I give, is based on the community school idea; and, thus, many administrators find themselves faced with a professional conflict when we say a solution to the problem of segregation is to discard the community school philosophy. And I think that many of the problems that we have in this area of integration are conflicts over existing beliefs, many of which have absolutely nothing to do with whether a person is Negro or white.

Another area which was drilled into me when I was taking school administration courses was in the management area of planning for school buildings. When I went through my training, and this is probably true of most other administrators, nothing was said to me about selecting a site according to race, except possibly just the opposite, that we select our site in such a way that there would be homogeneity, where people will work together closely and become part of a neighborhood school. We have again what appears to be a good management process in administration, that is selecting a site based upon density of population, costs, and the dangers which might beset the child if he lives in a particular area. In addition to this, there now are new ideas and changes. We must now also consider the possibility of race. And so we must; but this is not a myth or it is not a stereotype, for the people who must face this problem are people who did not really have to deal with this issue during the training period.

In many cases, instead of being praised for what at one time we would consider good management, we are now being damned for furthering *de facto* segregation.

Let me now raise certain questions.

1. Should and must the neighborhood school philosophy and concept be abandoned in the face of these new problems which beset us? I think there are some good things about such schools that can be maintained. I do not think the answer is as simple as we've appeared to make it.

2. Should the school administrators and the Board really be the ones to determine the mixture, and to add the formula of race to the question of site selection?

3. Are other types of liberties and freedoms being violated by the forced integration process which many people are advocating? At what stage will people say, "Well, he is trying to take an opposite direction."

4. What are the guidelines we should follow? What really are the guidelines that, as a professor of administration, I should give to my students in administration that will help them handle the problems they face. There must be some. What are they? Where are they? Where can we find them?

5. What really are the facts? I hear so many facts, yet I was on a research problem last year. Our problem was to determine personnel practices which would encourage the inclusion of Negro teachers into the teaching staff. We tried to discover which policies could be developed to allow the addition of more Negro teachers in as normal a way as possible.

In the first place, we were criticized somewhat for tackling a problem like this. Some people proposed that we just add the Negro teachers. Now, maybe this is right. On the other hand, problems do arise when you start adding to a staff people who are somewhat different from the kind before. If you believe in the idea that we should not have segregated schools, as far as pupils are concerned, and as far as teachers are concerned, then I believe that we ought to eliminate segregation in as easy a way as possible and avoid as much conflict as possible. This is why we were looking at the Negro teacher problem.

We had difficulty finding the facts. We had difficulty finding out how many Negro teachers there were in some communities. We had difficulty many times in making contact with the Negro teachers. There are many aspects of this problem which are difficult to find out, as far as actual facts are concerned, and I think, someway or other, we have got to start looking at these facts.

6. What do we mean by complete desegregation? Does it include only the schools but also the children's homes and schools? And is it desirable? That is another question.

I've raised the questions. I admit I do not have the answers. I would like to hear some of the answers to some of these, and I think finding out the answers to many of our problems which we have would make this job much easier.

Chairman:

Is there any other member of this group who would like to react to some of the questions that were posed by Dr. Roe?

Salten:

I'd like first to agree with Dr. Roe, and then perhaps take issue with a number of other points. I think Dr. Roe was correct in suggesting that the paper sounded like a success story. And it ought not to sound like a success story because the story isn't over. I can get back to school Monday morning and find out that I don't have a seat to sit in. I want to make it clear that what has been effective in New Rochelle may not be used as a model for a program of desegregation elsewhere in the nation. I want to make it perfectly explicit that the New Rochelle story is not intended to illustrate that if you have sufficient intellectual power and sufficient good will you can always solve the problem. I think very often you have to depend on luck, and we had a good deal of that in New Rochelle.

However, at this point, though, I would like to differ with Dr. Roe. I don't think the problem we face is soluble by the adoption of an attitude of childlike simplicity. And the attitude of his son who has lived in a sheltered environment gives us no clue to the solution of a problem which is really attacking the heart of our American society. It isn't essential that we totally avoid conflict in America. It's less important to avoid conflict than it is to establish some morality and justice, and a good deal of conflict in our social order is extremely constructive. It would seem to me that a study of history would indicate that very few positive changes have been made without some conflict.

Also, perhaps my paper did not stress sufficiently the fact that as a general rule we believe in neighborhood school policy. I think this is obviously a good policy. There would be no reason why one should send the child to a distant school if he can go to a school near home, and receive the education to which he is entitled. But what we have said is that in situations where the continuation of a neighborhood school policy violates certain other principles of equity or law or justice, then we must consider whether or not what we call the neighborhood schools is indeed a conception which is sacrosanct and cannot be changed. Also, what constitutes a neighborhood.

It's interesting that in the heart of the Negro ghetto in New Rochelle, and Lincoln School was at the very heart of this heart of the ghetto, the entire Lincoln School area had less than 1/5 the geographic area of other neighborhoods. In other words, the court was quite correct when it said the lines had been drawn in such a way as to contain the Negro. In the extreme north end of town or the extreme southern part of town there were schools which were 99 per cent white in a neighborhood consisting of just a few square blocks. In short, a consideration of the facts of the case leads one to the belief that even in a good, decent, fine community steps can be taken to contain the Negro. And the question arises as to whether or not this is a good move.

My own belief is that we in America are part of a world which is evolving very quickly and it would seem to me that one of the things you have to provide all children, certainly white as well as Negro, is an opportunity to rub elbows with and learn to adjust to and learn to get along with and sometimes quarrel with people of different backgrounds. And this would seem to be an important argument against the establishment of schools on sites which would systematically and in advance give you a homogeneous grouping. It seems to me the process of education is to expand one's horizons rather than to delimit one's experiences. Now, all of this, of course, is no argument against the right of free assembly, and everybody has the right to get into close intimate relations with anyone he wants to, and he can't be forced to meet with others, but certainly children should be given an opportunity to adjust to others.

The basic issue is whether the school is an instrument of social reform and social reconstruction. I think it is. I don't know what other purpose it serves. It serves the purpose of giving us literacy, but that is not enough of a purpose. Does the school exist simply to prepare us for society that we live in, for society as it is; or is the school intended to give us some preparation for society that ought to be, for society that speaks to our moral imperatives, for our vision of what the future ought to be? And if we think the future ought to be better than the present, it seems to me that we are bound, in the schools, to provide experiences which prepare young people for relatively comfortable adjustment in a society in which there is a greater amount of justice and morality than we now enjoy.

Shagaloff:

I'd like to make several points. I simply cannot understand what happens to people who so clearly recognize the effects of segregation in the South in public education and yet have such difficulty in perceiving what segregation means, either to white or Negro children, in the North. The fact that it is imposed in the South, or required by state law and may exist in the North as a result of solely segregated housing patterns, surely does not affect the child who is not aware of this subtle distinction as to how this segregation came about. And this would be true not only of the Negro child but of the white child who is harmed by enforced segregation in his white world in the North and in the South. So, I'm always troubled when I hear the hesitations about recognizing the general undesirability of the *de facto* segregation in the North, even though the enforced segregation in public education can be seen so clearly when this occurs in the South.

The second point I wanted to make was to clarify perhaps what I said about the neighborhood school. As we all know, the traditional criteria for drawing school zone lines, and school attendance areas, have been and remain consideration of school capacities of school enrollments, of distance from home to school, topographical features that may exist in a community or in a school system, and safety considerations. But added to these spoken and official traditional criteria have been two considerations that have been unofficial and in some instances perhaps so unofficial as to really have been not by deliberate design or intent, (although I think in far more instances the intent has been present), and these are considerations of race and of class. And this is what I intended to suggest about the neighborhood school concept. It is not a concept that has the same meaning in every school system. If one examines the school zones in New Rochelle elementary schools, or in Englewood, or in any other community, there are school attendance areas that are large and there are those which are small. But all of the school attendance areas are called neighborhood schools, so that I think that this whole concept must be now looked at somewhat differently, and realize that this is not a concept solely in terms of distance, from home to school, but with many other considerations. And I would add only as a footnote to the value of the truly neighborhood school, that white parents are far more concerned where their children go to school than they are on the question of distance. The same parents who cry for the preservation of the neighborhood school mean a white neighborhood school, not a neighborhood school based on distance. They will put their children on buses to send them to parochial schools or to private schools to avoid the desegregated and the integrated schools.

The next point I want to make deals with the comments on the elimination of enforced integration. What we are insisting upon is the elimination of enforced segregation, and I'm using the word enforced now, not to mean necessarily state-required or state sanctioned segregation, but segregation which is enforced through the sanction and the acceptance of not only the school system itself, but of the total community. Let me make very clear what are the demands that the NAACP is making on this issue: we have insisted upon policies to be adopted by school boards of education, recognizing the educational problem of existing segregation for all children. And following that we have insisted upon the adoption and implementation of meaningful comprehensive plans of desegregation. We are not insisting upon a redistribution or a reassignment of white and Negro pupils throughout a school system on the basis of race and color to achieve a fixed proportion or a fixed percentage of white and Negro children in every school. We are, however, insisting upon meaningful plans of desegregation such as the ones I have indicated already and others, that can be adapted to plans that are both educationally and administratively sound. They should be adapted to a specific school system either to eliminate existing racial concentrations in the schools entirely as in many of the suburban communities, or as in the large northern school system, to change fundamentally and alter the pattern of racial separation of white and Negro pupils in the schools.

Roe:

I don't think I have anything specific to say, except to indicate that I think probably one of the most positive things that we could do is to establish some guidelines which would be useful to the school administrator and therefore to the Board of Education, if he would take leadership position with them, guidelines which would help him in this whole process of change through which he must necessarily go.

I see as a possible long range solution here some of the things that went on in Minneapolis. But it seems to me that the Minneapolis approach of trying to tie desegregation up with the whole long range planning program, for both the school system and the city, could be an answer that would be a very stable approach to this problem. It seems to me that such a guideline is one we can accept by making it a part of their whole long range plan. Thus, the city which would eliminate as much as possible this *de facto* segregation caused by housing. This, it seems to me, is one of the solutions, but, of course, it is a long range one, and one that certainly does not satisfy some of the problems which face us immediately.

Shagaloff:

I'm afraid that I'm going to have to disagree.

I don't think the problem is one of finding the guidelines. I don't think the problem is a technical one of formulating a plan of desegregation. No one claims to have all the answers to all of the plans of desegregation. It has been suggested that the new computor machines might be helpful, that certain factual data on capacities of schools and enrollments and anticipated enrollments might be fed into machines and ask to come out with a racially balanced school system to the fullest extent possible. These are technical aspects. What is missing is the commitment. And all too often, just as we clearly recognize that the issue of the question of desegregation of schools in the South very quickly became a political issue, not an educational issue, similarly in the absence, thus far, of clear leadership on this issue of *de facto* segregated schools in the North, this too became a political issue. And I'm disagreeing when you suggest that the guidelines are needed. No school board or no school administration is being asked to do what is impossible to do. No one is demanding that every school be desegregated where we know administratively that it is impossible to do that. But we have in most communities gotten past step No. 1, and that is that the recognition that a racially *de facto* segregated school system is undemocratic, and in fact violates the basic democratic concepts of not only the school system, but of the government.

Chairman:

Do I hear some questions from the audience?

Question:

What is Miss Shagaloff's interpretation of a totally integrated school system with approximately 30 elementary schools and a comparable number to take care adequately of that group in junior highs and senior highs?

Shagaloff:

I'm somewhat concerned that this statement was made because I don't think that it accurately reflects our position. Our position has been to insist upon the elimination of existing segregation to the fullest extent possible. Now, what this means is obviously going to vary from school system to school system. What maximum desegregation will mean in school systems such as Manhassett with 3 elementary schools or Englewood with 5 elementary schools is going to vary considerably from what it may mean in a larger school system, or even in contrast to one the size of Chicago or Los Angeles. So I can't answer specifically. But what we would urge is that school officials very candidly and very openly be color conscious, and reorganize, in the total sense, the school system, based on those approaches which are sound administratively to achieve maximum desegregation, and surely to eliminate as completely as possible the segregated Negro schools as they now exist. I don't think it is possible to desegregate an entire school system in the sense of achieving a fixed proportion of white and Negro children in every school. I think that in the larger school system (this is not true for the small suburban school systems) even with the most meaningful plan of desegregation, there are going to be some schools that remain as *de facto* segregated white schools. But I do think it's possible to deal with the problem and eliminate the *de facto* segregated Negro schools. Commissioner Allen, Commissioner of Education for New York State, has suggested that the ideal might be to work toward the proportion of 50% Negro children and 50% white children without viewing this as a rigid concept. But how many schools can be included obviously will depend on housing patterns as well as administrative considerations. But certainly the *de facto* segregated Negro schools can be eliminated.

Question:

I was very much impressed as a layman with Dr. Salten's statement regarding the almost unique responsibility of the schools as a social institution to try to develop a far better moral structure for the next generation, and it is that kind of observation that causes me to put this question to Miss Shagaloff, and that is: in terms of the aggressive and affirmative evidence that desegregation as an objective in itself—is it more, in a sense, of a kind of moral structure or social structure that we are trying to achieve in the future, or is it a movement which is founded primarily on the welfare of the Negro student himself today? To put it differently, is the Negro student who is involved affected in the efforts toward desegregation or integration, is he today a beneficiary or in a sense a sort of martyr to the fact that we must make progress. And to put it still another way, briefly, what is the impact on the Negro child of having the opportunity over a short period each day, to attend the desegregated school?

Chairman:

. . . . Yet finding himself in a culture which is primarily segregated.

Shagaloff:

To begin with the first part of your question. We are concerned with the general well-being, educationally and psychologically, of the Negro child. And our concern is that of Negro children in segregated schools, and I must add, equally so in less obvious terms, that of the white child in a segregated white school. We are not proposing that children be used as pawns to achieve a larger social objective, but rather that the ills and the harmful effects of the dual problem of segregation and unequal schools (because almost invariably the schools that are the *de facto* segregated schools are below par in other respects), be dealt with. I don't know of any studies that really conclusively show what the problems may be of the children from a slum area who are transferred to a school that formerly served a higher socio-economic status area. But certainly the fact that there may be problems is meaningless if you're suggesting that these problems do not have to be met. They do have to be met. They should be met at the very moment, while the children are attending the segregated and inadequate schools. What we do know is that the experiences of school systems that have desegregated would seem to indicate clearly that the results have been good, both academically as well as in other ways—though there have been problems. But where these problems have been met with some intelligence and with some concern, they have gotten past them. I think there is a certain danger in assuming that all Negro children are poor children, or slum children. This is not true, and the Negro children who are caught in the *de facto* segregated schools in the suburban communities are very often children from middle income Negro families who, by the way, reflect many of the same educational problems as do the children from the slum schools of the big cities.

Question:

Mr. Roe thinks that the formula was good some time ago and should not be changed at all. Should not many other new factors change the attitudes of the administrators?

Chairman:

I suppose your chairman should not comment on this, but I think I perhaps could do some clarification. I think what Dr. Roe had suggested was that people had been oriented in this direction and now it is difficult for us to reorient ourselves in any other direction, which is the right direction. I don't think there is any argument in this regard. But his point was that we have spent all of our life going in one direction and now we have to go another.

Roe:

I am glad that you said that because I would have been afraid I hadn't said what I thought I said. My point very definitely is not that the old formula is correct. My point, rather, is: it is not a myth that our administrators have been deeply ingrained in this philosophy for a long time, and are now being faced with a new portion of the formula. As a result, they face some difficulties in adjusting to this change. So, I do not at all advocate continuing the old formula. I'm merely saying that we ought to pity the poor administrator in many cases and look at his problems realistically, and assist him in finding some new guidelines in solving these problems. This is the thing that I was trying to emphasize.

Question:

Children from slum areas that are called educationally deprived or culturally deprived, how would they be characterized at the age of 5, just before they enter school?

Answer:

It wastes time really to become involved in a semantic discussion as to what to call these youngsters. Obviously education doesn't begin with schooling, because these youngsters have already suffered educational deprivation, by being exposed perhaps to some family situations in which they were not receiving advantages which are as great as those received by other children perhaps in more favored homes. We know which children we have in mind, and we know that they need to be helped. I would think that it is tactically correct to recognize the sensitivities of people. If people are going to feel sensitive because we're speaking of cultural deprivation, let's call it any kind of deprivation. Call it anything you want to. I think we ought to invent any word which is in some ways descriptive and hurts nobody's feelings. But what we're saying is that there are some children who need a little more help than others, and that we ought to begin to give it to them as quickly as possible.

Shagaloff:

May I comment? I'd like to make one comment on this. I don't think there's any quarrel with programs devised for the needs of culturally deprived children for those children who do have certain needs. There is certainly a quarrel when school officials or when school systems propose programs to meet the needs of culturally deprived children as a substitute for plans of desegregation. There is no quarrel when programs to raise educational standards or special programs for culturally deprived children are part of and complement the process of desegregation itself. But this has not been the way they have been approached thus far. More often these programs are proposed as substitutes for maximum desegregation itself.

Question:

My question is to the panel in general. I want to add a point of clarification as to whether there is a difference between a neighborhood school and a community school. I know little, not being trained in education, about the history of public education, but it has been explained to me, and I'd like to know if this is correct. The original concept of public education was a common school where everybody from every background, every social class, race, color and religion, came together and this was the genius of the public school system. What is happening now is with the expansion of our metropolitan areas and the segregated housing pattern is that we have launched a true neighborhood school instead of the community school, and we have something that is actually a violation of the original concept of public education.

Chairman:

Well, of course, you can get in controversy even on the definition of the neighborhood school and the community school. We might very well indicate a school with attendance boundary lines which encompass a geographical size which would allow people to consider this a sort of school center for them. But going on to the community school, we probably would use a little different type of definition indicating that this is a school which, according to attendance areas and boundary lines, would probably be the same as the neighborhood school, but there's a conscious attempt by the administration to make this a neighborhood center where much of the social and educational life of the community is centered in this one particular building. And they will try to make it the center of social and cultural life—not just during the time when classes are in session, but in the evening time too. A place where the parents know the school people, they know the children. They are on a face to face basis—in a sense the whole general life of that community is centered right in this area.

Now, at one time, it used to be that we would assume this could only take place in the small community because there would only be one school and this would be the true neighborhood school. However, in many of our large cities this community school concept has been developed. Flint is a very good example where they have established schools that try to set up these neighborhood type of communities involving the whole life of the community and with this school as the center.

Salten:

There is just one element of the neighborhood school philosophy that I generally object to and this is the idea that the school is located in the neighborhood and that its curriculum is supposed to be adapted in such a way that it will reflect the neighborhood itself. I think this is unfortunate because there are a number of neighborhoods in the United States where the aspirations of the people in that neighborhood, for their own children, are so inadequate that if you have the curriculum reflect what people want you may be doing a marked disservice for children. I think the whole society has some responsibility for deciding what it is the children should be exposed to.

Question:

When you get school systems in cities where there is a very large Negro population, over half of the population, is it really honest to say that you can create a racial balance in the school system while yet holding to any semblance of being able to hold school policy?

Salten:

I do not think it is a question of honesty. It is patently ridiculous. If you have a community that is 80 per cent Negro, there is no possibility of securing racial balance. Of course the solution perhaps lies in a more general judgment as to what should constitute school districts; and, for example, in my own state and in a few other states, it might be that a judicious redrawing of school district lines in some areas might solve many problems.

THE CHANGING ATTITUDES OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL

By Wilson Record
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One cannot speak of the attitudes of school personnel without qualification, because what school people think about race or any other issue is subject to wide individual variation. But though attitudes have not been uniform, it is safe to say that on the whole school board members, administrators, teachers and counselors have been entirely too slow in facing squarely the racial inequities in the American educational system. On this score educators have failed the moral and professional commitment of their calling.

We live in a society which increasingly prescribes education as the passport into the economy, the polity, and the community. Yet the people who run our schools—and therefore serve as guardians of the passport—have been remiss in equalizing the opportunity for acquiring it. By their default educators must accept a large share of the responsibility for narrowing the life chances of perhaps twenty per cent of the nation's children.

Understanding the attitudes of school personnel—the circumstances in which they have developed and the manner in which they may be changed—is essential for achieving the goals of a democratic educational philosophy, clearly enunciated by the Supreme Court a decade ago. Had such understanding and its application as public policy been realized during the long and dreary interval since 1954, integration of public schools would be much closer. I do not wish to overestimate the influence that school personnel of even the most dedicated and fairminded sort could have exerted over the many forces--habit, custom, confusion, and bigotry—that stood in the way of integrated education. But one senses both moral defection and professional failure in the responses of most school personnel to the critical, line-drawing issues brought to the fore by the court's decision—issues voiced time and again, in clear and ringing terms, in community after community, North and South, East and West, by the education-denied and the freedom-deprived groups seeking to claim an American birthright.

Rarely did public school personnel themselves initiate the protests and the court cases which over a period of some three decades prior to 1954 chipped away at racially segregated education. They were forced to confront the issues; they did not seek them out. With few exceptions they not only accepted but virtually approved segregated schooling. In doing so they became instruments for propping up a racist society. Schoolmen appeared before the bar not as friends of the court intervening in behalf of education-denied Negroes but as defendants of the established order, which their own public schools helped create and now fought to uphold. Future historians looking back on the racial conflicts in education during the past few decades will express bewilderment at the tragic gap between the moral and professional ideals of school personnel on the one hand and their day-to-day and year-to-year actions on the other. Chronicles will record the opportunity lost, the time dissipated, and the humanity wasted. Some historians will footnote—perhaps some novelist will portray in depth—the case of the Negro child who in 1954 entered first grade in a segregated institution, in Chicago or New York or Sacramento, and a decade later terminated his formal schooling without ever having been part of an integrated classroom, without ever experiencing adequate instruction which could mean the difference between his becoming an autonomous man or a dependent drudge in an ever more complex society. Tragedy is the result in the individual case; catastrophe, threatening the whole structure of democratic society, is the inevitable outcome when literally millions of young Negroes suffer the same fate; when millions more will suffer it in the future unless educators bestir themselves—here and now.

Even after the 1954 ruling most public school personnel assumed a "wait and see" stance, usually proclaiming that in *their* schools there was no prejudice, no discrimination, no inequities based on race. Presumably the problem of segregated schooling was found only in the South—not in the North, or East, or West—and certainly not in *this* city or in *this* system. Such "imbalances" as might exist were written off as a result of time and circumstance, of forces—social, economic, and political—lying entirely outside the school system. Reviewing developments in the immediate post-decision years one cannot avoid being shocked by the extent to which many school personnel were willing to use delaying tactics in the administrative and judicial arenas and to collaborate with those who wished to perpetuate segregated schools as features of the local social landscape. The many hearings conducted by the Civil Rights Commission contain convincing, overwhelming evidence that these were not isolated practices resulting from distinctive local conditions but characteristic responses of school personnel across the land. The few instances where school people led the fight for equality of opportunity stand out precisely because they are so few and because they have received so much hopeful public notice. One searches almost in vain for examples of school personnel recognizing their responsibilities in the light of the court decision and taking the initiative to do what they were best equipped in the circumstances to do: educate themselves, the various publics and their classroom pupils toward the fulfillment of long-neglected obligations.

Many educators today express bewilderment that their position and effort is not greater appreciated by education-denied groups, especially Negroes, in whose behalf they claim to have labored long. Their responses are similar to those of the Southern white man who cannot understand why Negroes don't love him for his many sacrifices in their behalf. This white-collar patronization, however, only underscores the schoolman's failure to understand the nature and depth of the Negro's feeling about education and his determination to become a full citizen by acquiring and using it. The paternalistic attitudes of administrators, teachers, and counselors can but add insult to the deep injury suffered through the centuries by Negroes in American society.

In school integration Negroes are looking for results, not excuses; for actions, not declarations of good intent; for substance, not form. Their skepticism—indeed, their mistrust of school personnel would be substantially less if even now there were clear evidence that the latter understood their problem and on that basis were doing something about it. But what has been the occasion for school action? What lies behind it? More often than not it is the court order, the protest march, the integration rally, the school boycott, perhaps the death of a demonstrator protesting the erection of still another segregated school. It is to fear—to a display of power—that schoolmen have responded. There was a time when Negroes might have appealed to the educator's idealism, but no more, no more. Negroes have come to feel that persuasion and negotiation unsupported by organized pressure will produce few changes. The Negro's high regard for education on the one hand and his distrust of educators on the other are clearly evident in the thrust of his pressure and in the tactics he is choosing to break through racial barriers in public schools. To the schoolmen's plea to wait and hope the Negro's reply is that he has waited too long already and that hope was long ago betrayed by those who could have given it substance.

Let me reiterate that the foregoing remarks are not an indictment of all educators; there have been happy exceptions. Nor do I take the position that the attitude of the majority cannot be changed. If I thought that educators could not be educated, I would not be here, particularly in this panel discussion. I believe that attitudes are flexible. Furthermore, I am persuaded that even where attitudes of school personnel and other factors in the integration drama cannot be changed fundamentally, their behavioral consequences can be substantially directed toward socially approved and morally justified ends.

However, the resources of education-denied groups in realizing their aims cannot be tapped readily because of mistrust and the continuing evasion of integration by school personnel. Public schoolmen have not only a past to live down but a professional creed, so clearly implied in the court decision, to live up to.

II

Attitudes are the creature of many forces—personal, professional, organizational, and situational—which form the context within which school personnel develop and carry on their specialized tasks. Only if the social, interpersonal, and structural elements in the perspectives of school functionaries are carefully explored can one assay attitudes realistically, or take steps to change them. Focus on attitudes as such is not likely to be rewarding. Even if change is possible, it may take so long that the attack on critical problems in school integration will be tragically postponed and the damage to minority children proliferated. Few school personnel are likely to be struck blind by some great light and, upon recovering, to view school integration in a radically different perspective. And we are no more likely to change their behavior in the future simply by pleading for a change of heart, however desirable that may be as a final condition, than we have been in the past.

The context within which the attitudes of school personnel are formed and altered is invariably complex. It is true that in each administrator, each teacher, each counselor resides a unique person, who brings to his encounter with associates and pupils a psychological make-up different from all others in the past and never to be duplicated in the future. It is equally true, however, that individual diversity is limited by the social context in which it exists. The individual educator is a member of a particular class, a particular race, a particular age group, a particular geographical community, which shape and delimit his perspective. The high order of uniformity in the response of schoolmen to the challenge of the color problem is attributable to the fact that they are concentrated in certain social groupings rather than being distributed evenly over the various ranges. The men who run our schools are predominently middle-aged, middle-class white men.

More than in almost any other professional group the attitudes of school personnel are influenced by community forces. Administrators, teachers, and counselors are all public employees working in public institutions into which a substantial portion of public resources have been poured. Moreover, they are engaged in a vital task, the socialization of the young, whose importance all publics within the community recognize, however much they may disagree on the goals and methods of socialization.

The way school personnel identify the crucial elements of the community will have an important bearing on their conceptions of professional roles, suggesting the limits and forms of change in the schools. Accuracy in definition of the social structure is not readily attained, however. The difficulty of getting essential information and the frequent inability of school personnel to analyze and assimilate it are two barriers, though not necessarily the most important ones; definitions of reality are as much the result of social pressure and emotion as they are of fact and reason. And men, even schoolmen, have been known to deny the existence of what they do not understand and to proclaim the impossibility of what they do not desire.

In the appraisal of community structures as a step in changing attitudes of school personnel sociologists can make a contribution by calling studied attention to the general historical experience of whites and members of racial and ethnic minorities. The aim is not to produce an "accepted" or an official account but to identify those occurrences in the past which bear on present issues and to develop a perspective not unduly pessimistic or optimistic. Changes making for social cohesion and social conflict in intergroup relations can be identified and the possibilities of purposeful change can be sealed against past experience.

Many school personnel are not history-conscious and perhaps should not be expected to be so. There is a strong tendency to assume that race relations patterns are fixed and that what is so firmly rooted in the past cannot be modified. Yet the reader of Woodward's *Strange Career of Jim Crow* or of Logan's *The Negro in American Life and Thought* cannot help being struck by the fact that post-Civil War patterns of racial segregation were willfully imposed by powerful white men frequently against the inclinations of other whites and certainly against that of Negroes. Furthermore, we already have in hand a sufficient number of cases of accomplished integration to lend hope to those who would now reduce the heavy levy of history upon the present.

History, I am suggesting, particularly the history of race relations in the local community, can be an instrument for integration of public schools. But it will be useful primarily by indirection, by the way in which it enables school personnel to identify the community and to discern those unique openings through which equitable educational opportunities can be initiated.

Sociologists can also interpret for school personnel those mechanisms in the community through which groups assert their interests and seek to control the behavior of their own members as well as that of others. Attitudes of school personnel toward integration depend in part on an assessment of the social forces at play—their components, form, and strength. To say that schoolmen, although they may have had courses in sociology and long experience in the community, understand those forces only slightly is not unfair. They are likely to be conscious of only the more public and articulate forces, ignoring the informal and non-aggressive ones. Thus they miss opportunities to obtain different perspectives on race relations; they fail to tap new and possibly useful resources for integration. For example, I have encountered few educators who were knowledgeable about the church in the Negro community or who saw any possibility of using its resources in solving administrative, teaching, and counseling problems. I have interviewed few counselors who were familiar with the local minority labor market, who saw its limitations and possibilities and its significance for the behavior of their Negro counselees. Moreover, those who have worked with school personnel must be impressed by their unawareness of the roles of other official agencies whose activities have a significant bearing on any move towards school integration.

What I am especially concerned about is the lack of encounter of school principals, teachers and counselors with members of racial and ethnic minorities on the level of equality and as participants in shaping the activities of the school. Such encounters may not produce understanding or good will but they do have the possibility, much more than do textbooks or administrative rules, of changing attitudes, of forcing the professional to ask again: Who am I? What am I doing here? What ought I to do?

Sociologists can describe the "community power structure," a concept widely used in recent years by civil rights organizations directing their efforts at those groups who heavily influence public policies and public events. How centralized or diffused, how rigid or flexible, how static or changing, how exclusive or representative—these are questions about community power that must be answered by those who would integrate public schools. Wherever public schools are found one finds also the practice of politics and the use of power. School personnel to varying degrees are aware of it, administrators probably more than teachers, and teachers more than counselors. In spite of their claims to the contrary, professional schoolmen are more than the instruments of power directed from the community. They are themselves political actors; they not only respond to but also exercise power. For example, the school administrator who seeks out and uses the advice of a civil rights organization enhances the organizations' influence and prestige in the community. This is an exercise of judgment, that has specific consequences and direct implications for the patterns of influence and control extending beyond the school.

General attitudes of white publics will certainly be significant for specific attitudes of school personnel toward integration. Most school people are white and upon them falls the responsibility of applying policies at the pay-off place: in the school itself and in the classroom. Most school personnel are also middle-class, if not in origin then certainly in outlook; their class values and status concerns enter into their confrontation of integration issues.

There has been a pronounced tendency for them to assume that other white public attitudes are all of a piece and, possibly, like their own underlying feelings, negative. Such is not the case, of course. In protesting school segregation in community after community outside the South, Negroes have received firm support from predominantly white religious, political and educational organizations, in California, for example, from the Episcopal Youth, the Young Democrats, and the American Federation of Teachers.

The skillful use of favorable sentiment among white publics would greatly strengthen school personnel in communities moving toward integrated education. It emphasizes that they do not stand alone and that there are resources on which they can draw. Attitudes, for better or worse, are not granite-like things embedded in the individual and durable until death; they are weakened or strengthened to a large degree by the responses of other people whom the individual encounters in carrying on his activities—personal, social and professional.

The success of a school integration program, however, rests importantly upon the initial attitudes of school people—their convictions and willingness to risk social disapproval and public criticism. But there is, more than at any time since the Supreme Court decision, a need for white publics to stand up and be counted, to support school people who, either boldly or timidly, are moving toward integration. The vague resolution about brotherhood, the hopeful declaration that the problem will eventually be solved, the pious appeal to sacred traditions, the appointment of still another study commission are not enough.

Recently a number of counter movements to integrated education have attracted considerable attention in urban communities outside the South. Their form and strength, exemplified by the one in New York City opposing even the modest desegregation program of Superintendent Gross, have been interpreted by some as a rejection of the principle of integrated education and a marked shift in white attitudes from indifference to hostility. School personnel no doubt have been impressed by these developments, their enthusiasm dampened or their skepticism confirmed. However, I suggest that the main fears of participants in counter movements may not be integration *per se* but a consequent decline in the quality of education, which is something quite different. Integrated education *need not* be and *must not* be inferior. And the answer to such misgivings is not more racially segregated education, which in practice is inferior, but improvement of instruction across the board and a raising of the quality of learning for all pupils.

School integration efforts must take into account the attitudes of people who man health, welfare, employment, law enforcement, housing, planning and other public organizations. Here again public servants reflect a wide range of attitudes toward school integration. Enthusiastic cooperation of other public agencies with the schools would, of course, be a fortunate development. Rarely has it been achieved, for reasons which cannot be fully explored here. The Balkanization of public agencies in urban communities—the emergence of small bureaucratic enclaves with limited responsibility and limited imagination—is an underlying cause. However, these agencies are here—and they will remain for a long time. Certainly, integrated education cannot await a rational consolidation of public units. The wait would be long indeed.

There is not only non-cooperation among agencies; much of the time open conflict occurs. Schools are at odds with the probation departments about keeping delinquents in the classrooms. Employment services are angry with schools for encroaching on placement functions. Recreation departments feel the schools are against extension of recreational programs to include adult education; and so on. Yet we know that problems of segregated education cannot best be attacked by the schools alone; it is not enough to reduce the hostility of other agencies to neutrality; the complexities of the problems demand a concerted effort.

School personnel themselves are participants in a bureaucratic system and identified closely with it. They are apt to think first of a proposed program's significance for the school's relations with police, health, welfare and so on. Predominant here is the bureaucratic and organizational attitude, with moral and professional concerns receding into the background. Hesitation and timidity will be the prominent responses of school personnel wishing to avoid the risks inherent in a bold integration program. Other agencies might take advantage of unfavorable reactions and exploit them to *their* advantage.

However, there are some recent developments weakening bureaucratic rigidities and hesitant attitudes of personnel. The public school is not the only agency being forced to change its ways. The employment service is having to curtail racial discrimination in referrals and hiring; the police department is having to modify the handling of Negro offenders and the recruiting of new members to the force; the recreation department is having to integrate its playgrounds and swimming pools, and so on. The Supreme Court decision, by general implication and by subseqent interpretation in specific cases, applies not only to the South but to the nation, not only to schools but to other public agencies.

The primary battleground, however, has been the schools. School people have not only the greatest resources but the largest experience. They are in a strategic position not only to seek *from* but provide support *to* other agencies groping toward integrated policies. By shelving the bureaucratic attitude, school personnel may approach probation, recreation, police and other agency people and develop a mutual attack on the mutual problem of desegregation of the whole community. It is no compliment to school officials to record that in many cases the initiative has come from other agencies. In one large Bay Area city, for example, the chief of police, not the superintendent of schools, is the one who has taken *Brown* vs. *Board of Education* seriously and reorganized his program along integrated lines. In the final analysis, the real enemy of school personnel are not members of other public agencies but segregation itself. Those who purport to instruct the young, all the young — to teach if you will — cannot afford to let their own bureaucratic attitudes obscure the difference.

III

I turn now to some of the more specific attitudes of school personnel, recognizing again that attitudes vary rather widely and are to no small degree shaped by the functional position of the individual within the school system.

There are four board categories of personnel—board members, administrators, teachers, and counselors — whose attitudes are significant for integration efforts. An examination in depth of each typical attitude within each category would be highly desirable. Obviously, however, this cannot be attempted in the time available. Accordingly, I shall be somewhat arbitrary in dealing with the few that seem to me most important.

School board members are in key positions to initiate integration programs. Their support is essential in establishing the broad general policies out of which develop precise moves such as the change of attendance boundaries, the construction of new schools, and the deployment of special resources and services.

The attitudes they bring to the integration issue are not only varied but frequently ill-defined and poorly expressed. But board members are at least public minded people with more than average concern with happenings in the schools. They can observe school problems directly and draw upon a wealth of official material and advice not ordinarily available to the layman. Even so, board members in community after community have shown a marked lack of sensitivity to the integration issue and a deplorable inability to grasp the feelings of Negroes about local education problems. Especially is this true in places to which large numbers of Negroes have migrated during the past two decades. For example, local board members frequently propose erection of new schools in Negro ghettos, assuming that Negroes will be content with the new physical plant and appreciative of the board's effort. Or they recommend the appointment of more Negro teachers – and then assign them – to predominantly Negro schools. Or they provide a woefully inadequate fund for "compensatory" education programs in ghetto areas. Or they obtain grants from private foundations for bold, experimental programs that are neither bold nor experimental but usually only timid gestures financed from windfall budgets and doomed to end once those funds are no longer available. Each of these moves may be an improvement, but neither separately nor collectively do such steps seriously bridge the underlying pattern of segregated education; thus they leave untouched what many Negroes regard as the basic cause of their distress.

But board members in non-Southern communities, however, cannot continue to plead lack of knowledge about the consequences of segregated education or lack of understanding of Negro grievances. The available data on both issues are substantial – and convincing for those willing to examine them carefully.

We must then look elsewhere in assessing the failure of many school board members to act effectively in equalizing education opportunities. Again we come back to the basic attitudes of board members. We should not minimize the school boards' inclusion of people who are bitterly opposed to integration in any form, certainly in the schools. We help none when we account for this attitude as a "lack of understanding" or as a "failure to communicate." These board members, the "bitter-enders," understand all too well and communicate all too clearly.

"Bitter-enders" are not necessarily a small, vocal minority. In some communities they monopolize board positions and in effect control the school systems. In others they form an influential "bloc" and severely limit what the majority may wish to do about segregation and related problems.

The "bitter-ender" publicly justifies his attitude through assertions about race and education that are at once familiar and frightening, familiar because they have been used for decades to support inequality and frightening because they are so inappropriate for the deepening education crisis and can but further inflame an already smoldering social issue. "Negroes," he says, "are really not capable of high educational achievement and there is little point in providing better facilities and instruction. They are happier where they are and do not really want to attend integrated schools. In them they would be out of place and feel uncomfortable and would still be segregated on the basis of performance and ability. The cause of unrest among Negroes are the hotheads and outsiders that are stirring up the less sophisticated black citizens who have been content with their place and wanting no change. A few exceptional Negro children may have outstanding potential and these should be encouraged. But the schools, even if integrated, could do little for the others whose low level of culture, if not basic inferiority, will require generations to change if it can be changed at all. To do anything special, or even equal, for Negroes would mean shortchanging other groups of pupils (he means the white middle-class kids), weakening the whole public school system."

On some boards, however, the "bitter-ender" is reaching his own bitter end. He is being replaced by men with less rigid attitudes who realize that something must be done to correct at least the most glaring inequities. The "bitter-ender" is replaced, not changed; he leaves the board feeling no differently about the integration issue than he did at the time when his private attitudes were translated into public policy. The replacement of the "bitter-ender" is essential since his own rigidities prevent change. The instrument for that is politics whether the board be appointive or elective.

The extent to which school personnel should participate in the politics of education is a difficult question, particularly when it comes to eliminating or adding members to the school board. However, it seems to me quite consistent for school personnel to stand firmly on professional principles and on public law, indicating quite clearly what is implied in the position of the "bitter-ender" on the integration issue: However, the critical political initiative will probably have to be taken by the education-denied groups themselves if the "bitter-ender" is to be overcome. They have not only just a right but also an obligation to judge school board members and to act on their conclusions. The minimum response of school personnel to such groups should include providing the widest possible range of official data and full and continuous consultation with their representatives.

The attitude of the conservative school board member is not to be confused with that of the "bitter-ender." The conservative is not a bigot and he is not to be confused with those who call themselves conservative but behave in the most radical and irresponsible manner with respect to public education and other issues. The conservative board member is open-minded; he has a decent regard for facts and recognizes the reality of social change and the emergence of new social problems. He does not believe, however, that substantial changes in race relations in education can be achieved within a short time or that they can result from the systematic efforts of school boards and school personnel to bring them about. He tends to emphasize the hold of tradition and the substantially irrational elements in the behavior of most people, especially in race relations.

The conservative is also likely to be quite cautious about public school costs. With his social conservatism goes economic conservatism. He may accept an essentially bold integration program if its cost is "reasonable," meaning small. Unfortunately, there is no cut rate program for integrated education. It is expensive; there is little point in arguing that the necessary tasks can be accomplished without substantially more resources than are currently available. I believe school personnel must make this point emphatically, especially with concerned conservatives who fear deficits much more than they fear desegregation.

The concerned conservative's attitude can be influenced by fact and by logic and by an appeal to his sense of community responsibility. He is likely to view with considerable distaste, however, some civil rights organizations – their demands and their methods for securing them. But he does not kid himself, and his own decency soon comes to the fore. He knows that the cry of "Red" and "Communist" is a substitute for neither an analysis of racial injustice in American society nor an adequate education program for millions of Negro children. Above all, the conservative knows that one does not escape moral responsibility by pious, self-serving incantations or by falsely labeling those who remind him of his shortcomings.

Many school personnel should feel comfortable with the concerned conservative, for their attitudes are highly similar. With him they feel that something can be done on the integration issue but not so much as to upset the "neighborhood school" pattern or to shift school boundaries drastically or to introduce bold programs of compensatory education that would substantially alter the long-established curriculum. (Parenthetically, one wonders just how even the most uninformed and irresponsible critic of public schools could accuse their personnel of radicalism.)

The administration-dominated school board member is another type with which most of you are familiar. His position on integration is no "position" at all; that is to say he embodies a kind of vacuous fluidity. On this and other issues he takes his cues from the key administrator, usually the superintendent, who is quick to recognize the man's possible usefulness, and in time probably his patent liabilities. The administration-dominated type is either too lazy or too timid to form an independent position not as a public trust but as a private opportunity. School board membership is essentially a means to a higher goal, for basking in the local limelight or stepping upward to another public office. His chief concern is to make no serious mistakes, offend no important group, and avoid being labelled controversial. He believes these aims can be[illegible] served by close identification with the chief administrator, on whose support he can count in exchange for uncritical loyalty.

The key to the attitude of the administration-dominated type is not the man himself but the administrator who wields a determining influence on his behavior as a board member. The administrator-dominated man has a great deal of faith in "experts" and "specialists," not only to evaluate and carry out policies but to devise them initially. Indeed, he sees the board's function essentially as approving administrative proposals and "interpreting" them to the public.

The response of this type to integration proposals is predictable if the attitudes of the administrators are known. School personnel come to realize this in time by watching board members and administrators consider a series of issues. Those outside the official system soon learn that integrated programs cannot be initiated through the administration-dominated board member. Much time and energy can be saved if the focus is shifted quickly to the people who count, the powerful administrators.

The attitudes of liberal-type board members are more diffuse than the three considered above. Liberals agree that segregated education exists, is undesirable, and that school boards have a responsibility for eliminating it. The question is how – in what length of time, with what means, and at what costs? One finds surprising diversity in responses of liberal types; civil rights leaders frequently are startled at the hesitancy of liberals on specific issues that must be faced if integration is to proceed.

The liberal type by nature is peculiarly concerned with method, with the consistency of the several available means with long-term goals and basic values. The integration advocate understandably emphasizes goals and is not greatly disturbed if means for attaining them do not always mesh neatly. To the liberal type, who is usually white, the integration advocate's attitude suggests an unbecoming single-mindedness, possibly "extremism," which he fears will endanger the "progress" being made. To the advocate the liberal's preoccupation with method is a mark of weakness, lack of courage in facing the logical implications of a basic value position and the personal implications, including status, of integrated education.

The liberal-type board member, like so many other whites, is frequently only vaguely aware of what is going on in the Negro community. He is not particularly sensitive to the changing collective mood of Negroes and its meaning for their spokesmen to the white community. The integration advocate, on the other hand, fails to understand the limited influence of the liberal board members, who is probably in a minority, and who must work within the framework of an established system that includes many built-in resistances to changes – of any kind.

The liberal type, of course, is a natural to introduce integration measures. Other board members cannot help becoming aware of growing unrest among Negroes and their demands for equal education chances. A certain anxiety has developed in those school boards with which I am familiar; it is likely to increase in the near future. There will develop a situation in which integration proposals will be viewed more hopefully. The liberal, with specific measures in hand, can then move boldly with some chance of success; at least he will get a serious hearing.

The four types of board members identified by basic attitudes toward integration are rarely found in pure form. Typologies are useful not because of their symmetry but because they enable us to understand the attitudes of school board members and their bearing on public school integration in specific communities.

The problems of integrated education will challenge school boards across the land for many years to come. Whether elected or appointed, board members will have to confront the harsh facts and issues; there is no easy way out. The board member's attitudes concerning, and competencies for, this issue should be crucial in his selection. School professionals can instruct board members on many aspects of integration; wiser decisions, hopefully, will be the outcome.

On turning to administrative personnel we find a wide range of specialists functioning within varying school systems. Regarding integration, however, there are a few fairly distinct attitudinal types. There is the actively hostile administrator who may have many reasons for being so. Though personal prejudice is at the core, it may be that he fears integrated programs because they are beyond his training and capacity to handle; his failure would mar an otherwise successful professional career. Or he fears that such programs will cause all kinds of internal staff disruptions, even if they do not create additional public relations problems. Or he may feel that introducing such programs is yielding to public pressures and compromising the autonomy of school administrators. Implicit in this attitude is the assumption that neither board members nor spokesmen of education-denied minorities really know what is good for them or for the schools.

My impression is that this type is on the way out. In some communities, however, such administrators are so well entrenched in school system and power structure that they cannot be forced out. Some are changing; not enthusiastically, but nevertheless changing. One superintendent of my acquaintance within a space of three years shifted his position from outright opposition to integration ("To hell with the Supreme Court; I work for the School Board.") to studied support of a broad program of integration for Negroes and Mexican-Americans. Another is engaged in extensive reading and consultations with social scientists in the nearby university preparatory to initiating a new program this fall. I do not attempt to assess the motives for such changes. The results are more important, and perhaps even the most hostile administrator can be pressed into a substantially new behavioral mold.

The chances for avoiding selection of hostile types will be greatly improved if teacher training institutions screen applicants more carefully, weighing attitudes about race and ethnic minorities. Further, it will be essential to provide further training and experience that will reinforce suitable attitudes and equip officials to express them effectively.

The indifferent administrator is a type whose numbers are shrinking rapidly. Nevertheless one still finds him in key positions in school systems in which the integration issue must be raised sooner or later. The indifferent type thinks that he will be relatively untouched. Even when there are storm clouds on the horizon, he looks the other way. His lack of knowledge about the Negro community has produced a myopia that blurs the deep feelings and growing needs of frustrated Negro parents and children. By training, and by temperament too, the indifferent administrator is poorly equipped to deal with integration questions. He does not actively seek out minority spokesmen to gain useful information; he does not initiate staff studies to gauge the degree of discrimination in the system; he would not even consider drafting a plan to eliminate inequities. Usually, then, he is caught flatfooted by the demands of Negro organizations. And his reactions, at least initially, only worsen the situation. His lack of concern about minority children can but anger parents who see the inferior education of their offspring as grossly inadequate and a permanent blight on their career chances.

The indifferent type is apt to exclaim: "I can't see what you people (Negroes) are so excited about." The problem then becomes one of how to open his eyes and where to cast the light. The indifferent's subordinates may be in a good position to help, provided of course they are not also equally unenlightened and unaffected. They can at least describe the racial inequities in the system. Particularly are school principals in a position to underscore the issues. Within the school, teachers and counselors can look for underlying causes of minority pupil failure and trouble. Why should it be necessary for indifferent administrators to be aroused by court orders, boycotts, mass protests and other direct action remedies, rather than by their own professional staff members?

In contrast to the hostile and indifferent administrative types are two others who want to do something about segregation but who differ in understanding, approach, and emphasis. The first is the "cautious conformist." His attitude is one of fear mingled with a certain guilt about denial of equal access to education. Typically he lacks familiarity with concrete issues, with developments in other communities, with moods of Negroes with whom he has had little or no association. There are few minority pupils now in his district or system. Privately he is relieved that they are concentrated elsewhere.

With so many changes taking place in race relations and education, the cautious conformist cannot rest comfortably. He knows that the issue will one day, sooner or later, confront him. As much as he would like to do so, he cannot simply wait, hoping the time will be long and the confrontation minor. He is moved to some degree by a sense of both professional and personal responsiblity. He may initiate inquiries and perhaps develop tentative plans for dealing with the issue. Like the boy scout, he wants to be prepared; unlike the scout, he is not very venturesome.

This type displays attitudes with which you are familiar. You recognize, too, that they have considerable potential for effective integration efforts. The cautious conformist's behavior is a result not only of his personal ambiguities but also of the play of powerful cross-pressures which cannot easily be sorted out and reconciled. Pressures from some white parents, businessmen and rightist political organizations are for him quite real and persistent. Unless they are countered by civil rights organizations with ideas and plans as well as pressures, the cautious conformist will be slow to move. In this administrator, weakness and wisdom are extremely difficult to isolate. Attitudes at the personal level are quite decent; this must be understood by those who would change his behavior. He can only be alienated by those who interpret caution as meanness or hostility or bureaucratic evasion.

The last of the four types is that *rara avis*, the enthusiastic integrator. He believes changes can come rapidly, even though he knows how slowly bureaucratic wheels customarily turn. He is, let's face it, a minority among administrators. Usually he is younger, more sensitized to the issue, having grown to maturity while integrated education was becoming a large and persistent public issue. Some of his training has at least touched on the problem and perhaps suggested how it can be dealt with. Though youthfulness is no guarantee of an administrator's favorable attitudes, it helps. The younger administrator is encountering new challenges before getting "fixed" on controversial issues in school and community.

The enthusiastic integrator must tangle with the established bureaucratic types whose main concerns are organizational stability and risk avoidance. He may lack knowledge of the ins-and-outs of the bureaucratic structure and of the sentiments and resources of minority communities. The first he will under-estimate and the second he will over-value. He will irritate his associates and evoke mixed reactions from his superiors.

However, his enthusiasm itself can be persuasive to the ambivalent and hesitant and it can carry him a considerable distance against outside pressures.

The enthusiast's basic attitudes are quite sound. It is important that they be reinforced by those sharing his goals. He will be strengthened if his effort receives favorable professional and public recognition. For his own career he needs support through promotion, salary increases, and greater responsibilities, possibly direction of a program attacking segregation within the whole system. The "enthusiast" is not the opposite of "realist." It is grossly unfair and question-begging to characterize him as "impractical" or "theoretical" while those who do nothing and prefer bureaucratic comforts are praised as "practical and realistic men who know their business."

There are other attitudinal types within the administrative personnel group. Essentially they are variants of the four already considered; they will not be described at this point.

Board members and administrators are key personnel in developing policies and structures for racial desegregation of public schools. But desegregation is not integration; the latter is essential for genuine equality of educational opportunity. Integration depends on practicing administrators, teachers and counselors carrying out day-to-day tasks in desegregated schools with personal conviction and professional commitment. Of special importance are the attitudes of teachers which we shall next explore in brief typological fashion. (Although the attitudes of counseling and guidance personnel are highly relevant, we will not have time to consider them in any detail.)

Two keys to the attitudes of teachers are their feelings about teaching as a profession and about social status. Those of you familiar with teacher responses to education inequalities and to desegregation can recall convincing examples of each type to be described. My classification is based on wide observation and on systematic interviewing over a long period of time in widely varying situations.

One finds some teachers, like board members and administrators, indifferent to integrated education. The indifferent teacher will not be concerned either with race or with other issues in the school and in the profession. For him teaching is a means of obtaining money and time for pursuit of other interests. Status in the profession is not important and he has no great concern with colleague opinion as long as it does not endanger his job (not profession) and income.

His ideas about education are limited; he is concerned to get through day-to-day tasks with minimum effort and trouble. Social status concerns are not compelling; his "kicks" come from indulgence of highly individualized interests. He has no yardstick for measuring one education problem against another. *De facto* segregation is accepted where it is found; inequities do not strike him as important since education has a low place in his scheme of things. His attitude is neither hostile nor favorable.

He will accept change from segregated to desegregated schools as a matter of course; he will not initiate changes or offer something new for making desegregated classrooms integrated learning communities. He lacks enthusiasm for subject matter and the drive to share it with others, especially with groups with stunted learning motivations.

The indifferent teacher has no animated objections to a desegregated classroom; he will work in "depressed areas" if more money is available and working conditions not particularly objectionable. His basic attitude is not likely to be changed, because he is insensitive to professional pressures and social issues. One may ask why he became a teacher in the first place. But there are a great many of this type in today's public schools; more will join the ranks in spite of better screening norms.

The frightened teacher, for the time being, can contribute no more to integrated education than the indifferent one. He usually comes from a white middle-class background and has had little contact with Negroes. Familiarity need not produce acceptance, but isolation from the culturally different does produce misgivings and unwarranted fear. The frightened teacher is not necessarily concerned with social status. He is uncertain about coping with new situations, especially those with deep emotional overtones and conflict potentials. His limited awareness of racial and ethnic minorities, largely untested, can be no source of comfort. On the one hand he proposes to "treat all students alike" and on the other he emphasizes the disparities suggested by test scores and performance reports. Adding to his fears are the usual stories and rumors about dire happenings in other schools where desegregation has occurred or is being attempted. Although no desegregation effort about which I know has come off smoothly, much of the experience should reassure the frightened teacher.

This frightened type is concerned not only with doing an effective job but also with his personal dignity and safety in those schools where social disorganization is high and outside conflicts are carried into the classroom. Such anxieties may come to dominate the teachers' outlook and prevent his tackling the instructional task at hand. Then, even the most favorable attitude toward integration as such will be over-ridden, and the teacher's positive contribution lost. The task here is not one of changing attitudes but of providing those conditions within which the frightened teacher can relax and go about his business. Above all, he must be kept in the school and in the profession; potentially he can make an essential contribution.

The status-striving teacher is also frightened but not for the same reasons. For him teaching is not only a professional activity but also one of the few available means for climbing the social ladder. Teaching is selected because it ranks high in the values of the lower middle-class from which the status striver is likely to come and because it is within relatively easy reach as a career. It is not looked upon as a calling or simply as a means of making money. It is an instrument for upward social mobility; if it fails to serve this function, it will be abandoned.

Integrated education is a serious threat to the status striver. He shares the racial antipathies of lower middle-class whites; his own ancestors, immigrants perhaps, are likely to have been poorly rated in the community. His ideal is assignment in an all white middle-class or upper-class school in a suburban community. There he can live as well as work, being recognized as much for what he has and can publicly display as for what he is.

For him avoidance of conflict on public issues is part of conforming behavior leading to social acceptance and confirming hard-won status. He defines the integration issue as controversial and the integrated school situation as threatening. Mixed schools, he concludes, are made up primarily of low-strata people and minorities; to work in them is to endanger social striver self-image and status. An admission of Negro children to his previously all white school will disturb him. He will as quietly as possible transfer to remaining segregated schools or get out of the system altogether.

If he remains, he will not be very effective since he cannot accept the situation as socially comfortable. This is not to say he is hopeless. He can be influenced by subsequent developments. His preoccupation with status may be reduced. More recognition in the profession precisely for good work in integrated programs will help. Special counseling and guidance in handling the status-striving teacher in integrated situations will reduce the likelihood of status panic.

We should not minimize the strong social status concerns of many teachers, white and Negro, and their implications for integrated education programs. These teachers can be a cause of low morale and create serious staff disruptions. We should carefully identify those whose status anxieties preclude their doing an effective job, and we should take measures to change or redirect their attitudes.

The custodian type of teacher aims primarily at maintaining order and exercising authority. He is not able to make his subject the focus of pupil attention. Possibly at one time he was enthusiastic about teaching, but prolonged service in a school composed primarily of lower class and undisciplined pupils has led him to minimize education and to emphasize control. He gets some satisfaction from exercise of effective custody and is wise in its ways and skilled in keeping the lid on.

He feels that little can be done for racial and ethnic minority pupils because of a depressing acquaintance with them, their parents, associates and the communities in which they live. His attitude is one of weary acceptance of the handicaps his pupils face in breaking the vicious cycle of poor education, unemployment, and poverty. His own demoralization conveys itself to his charges who sense that he has for them no more hope than other adults in their narrow world. The custodian attitude can result from a particular need to impose order and certainly on ambiguous – and dangerous – situations. This, however, is a matter on which the psychologist is probably best equipped to comment.

As a sociologist I offer two observations: first, the custodian type can get a fresh perspective by being removed for a time from the slum school and encountering new situations. Second, he has a wealth of valuable experience on which other school personnel can draw and can take professional pride in making it available to them. His attitude will be improved by teaching in different schools, offsetting the demanding uniformities of single race, single class institutions.

The secular missionary teacher differs sharply from the custodian type. Contrary to the title's suggestion, he is not the most effective teacher for integrated education programs. Because of a deep sense of mission toward members of racial and ethnic minorities, he will seek opportunities to work with them in community and classroom. His kind of "acceptance," however, is not altogether genuine. His paternalistic attitude marks the Negro's presumed inferiority in a less harsh but just as emphatic a way. (And if there is one thing the Negro today does not want, it is to be patronized by well-meaning uplifters. He wants respect and he is determined to create those conditions under which it may be gained.)

The secular missionary wants to change converts into something fairly specific not to simply equip them to find their own way among a number of alternatives. Particularly where Negroes are concerned he fails to understand the values and sentiments. As a consequence he ignores, even insults, their sense of self-worth. So-called "culturally deprived" Negroes do not necessarily think of themselves as being deprived of or requiring uplift by some self-appointed helper. (They know that they are education-denied, but that is something quite different.) The same is true for other minorities who see the missionary, secular or otherwise, as much as cause and reminder of their plight as cure for it. The secular missionary's insistence on his own righteousness alienates his associates who feel less worthy in dealing with integrated education issues.

This type can play a worthwhile role by emphasizing segregation issues and providing an example of intense concern. However, unless his attitudes are modified, he will not be effective in the day-to-day integrated setting. He will substitute moral exhortation for subject matter exposition and focus more on overt form and manners than on the basic topics at hand. The secular missionary must be approached cautiously, especially if he has come lately to the cause. None is so holy or likely to fall from grace so soon.

One other type of teacher whose attitude, in my view, merits more recognition is the teacher's teacher, the professional's professional. He sees his primary task as public service based on competence acquired through training and carried out with standards that are publicly explicit and personally internalized. He interprets *de facto* segregation in light of its bearing on professional goals. He is keenly aware of those conditions, including race relations which bear on the professions' fulfilling their essential objective. And he sees the organized profession of teaching as something more than a trade union preoccupied with wages, hours, and working conditions.

Both the problems of desegregation and integration he views primarily as the responsibility of professionally competent administrators and teachers, with school boards laying down only the broadest policies and providing the resources essential to equalizing learning chances. He may not be widely experienced with minority peoples but he can convey confidence by his approach, and a sense that for him race in the classroom is not important.

The professional type is interested in the subject matter he professes and in the conditions essential to imparting knowledge to his pupils. He has discovered that his eagerness to teach it carries a long way even among the so-called "culturally deprived" who are supposed to have little intellectual interest or academic potential. The professional type can be extremely valuable in two ways: He can give a steady focus on the ultimate goals of the education enterprise, and he can provide minority pupils a better sense of their own worth by his faith in their ability to learn.

It was my intention initially to examine the changing attitudes of school counselors toward integration, for that is a group I have had opportunity to study in some detail. My failure to give more attention to counselors is not because I regard them as minor players in the integration drama. They can and, no doubt, will play bigger roles as school after school seeks to use its total resources to deal with integration problems.

Briefly, school counselors can be divided into a half dozen or so fairly distinct groups: (1) the administration-bound counselor who is concerned primarily with institutional administrative aspects of counseling and regards himself as an administrator or potential administrator; (2) the amateur psychologist counselor who sees his role as clinician serving clients and the problems of integration as "individual" psychological issues; (3) the "adjustment" counselor who emphasizes the importance of the individual "accepting" the limits of his situation and fitting into it as best he can, which for the Negro child means *de facto* segregation; (4) the off-beat counselor who rejects many of the values of the dominant white society, including its racist values, and has sympathy and understanding for others who have in another sense been rejected; (5) the authoritarian counselor who is both morally and intellectually rigid and lacking in understanding of minority student sensibilities and who relies primarily on moral admonition in dealing with integration; (6) the jet-propelled counselor who has emerged in recent years primarily as a manpower recruiter for the military and space industry and whose central question for all individuals is: can you build a better bomb or fly to the moon? The detailed components of those types have been considered elsewhere.

IV

Throughout this paper, I have, directly or by implication, suggested steps for defining and changing attitudes of school personnel toward integration. In concluding I wish to suggest some additional measures.

School boards may require some basic changes in form and composition before any effective measures can be taken. This is essentially a broad public and political task on which other school personnel are unable to act directly. However, school personnel are organized; as members of professions and as employees of school systems they do have influence. They can encourage desegregation by developing concrete proposals and by pushing for their adoption. The pose of powerlessness on this issue is at least partially false and it is certainly unbecoming. Knowing the structure and types of members of school boards is essential to effective intervention at the board level. More, I hope, can be said on this matter later.

Regarding administrators, it is again important that we recognize the wide range of types and attitudes among them. First, it is essential to understand the system and their roles in it. The limits of their authority and resources, as well as their potentials for integrated education, need careful definition. Much more studied selection of administrative personnel, with emphasis on ability to develop integrated programs, is a growing need. Backing up, we need a critical review and modification of administrative curricula in teacher-training institutions. Greater emphasis on intergroup relations and on specific problems of race relations in schools is an essential but only partial corrective. Backing up still further, we need a keener selection of students for training in school administration. Heretofore there has been little concern for basic attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities as a measure of fitness. These attitudes should now be emphasized. More support, technical and moral, for administrators dealing constructively with integration issues is essential. The responsibility of professional organizations here, it seems to me, is quite clear. In the immediate circumstances emergency special or in-service training in race relations for all administrators in a system is highly desirable although not all of them are presently directly affected by integration conflicts. Elimination of certain types of administrators from present positions or even from the system entirely may be essential. This is a possibility that must be faced squarely.

With respect to the attitudes of teachers some useful steps can be taken immediately. Teacher organizations can drop their extreme caution and broaden their concerns about school and community issues. They can insist that members in integration situations adhere to professional principles; they can actively support those teachers who are making a contribution — with protection and with affirmative suggestions.

The importance of careful selection of teacher trainees cannot be exaggerated. We should not ask that they be free of bias or that they be fervently committed to integrated education. But we must insist that they hold no unchangeable attitudes that are basically at odds with professional standards and incompatible with the purposes of public education in a democracy. With careful selection of trainees should go revisions of the curricula they are required to complete. Revision should aim at acquainting the future teacher with the background and character of contemporary race relations; moreover, sustained, first-hand encounter with racial and ethnic minorities in school and community settings must be added.

For those teachers already established in school systems a program of information on developments relating to integration is a minimal need. Boards and administrators as well as teacher organizations have a heavy responsibility here. Attitudes are likely to be more flexible if the teacher has had access to a continuing flow of information which the school system itself makes available. Specific changes can be anticipated and those affected can have time to "get used" to them. In-service training, not "informational" but in depth, would be an even better way for making up the deficiencies in knowledge and for interpreting more recent developments.

Having said much elsewhere about counselors, I shall say little here except to insist again that more counselors are needed but not more of some of the types to which I have referred briefly. We need counselors with deep sensitivity to individual frailties and potentials, but we need as well those who are able to see the personal frailties in the context of social community and social problems, who can mark the difference between an individual problem and a social disorder.

In sum, attitudes of school personnel are not easily changed, but they are not irretrievably fixed. To facilitate integration in public schools educators should identify those attitudes and seek to modify them, or at least redirect their expression if they are detrimental to public principles of equal education opportunity.

To many the court decision of 1954 was more than a legal opinion. It was a moral challenge; its application by educators requires more than fulfilling bureaucratic obligation or rendering technical service. Education itself in the final analysis is a moral enterprise, and the education of all to realization of their fullest potential is the great moral obligation we cannot escape.

William Layton:

I have been working for the past 25 years in the field of social work, and I confess that there were times when I questioned my own objectivity. My only hope is that I have what might be described as operational objectivity, meaning that at least I'm able to achieve some resolution of the problems that are brought to our Civil Rights Commission, and that we are called upon to adjudicate.

The second observation is that I doubt whether any of us here today, ten years ago, had any thought that a key conference assessing the impact of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision after ten years would be made in the North and particularly I doubt whether any of us thought at that time that this assessment would focus its attention on *de facto* segregation in the North and West, because I believe most of us felt at that time that the decision was a decision for the South.

As in the case of Dr. Record, I would like to react to the changing attitudes of school personnel rather than any changing attitudes on the part of the community. I feel that the school has not addressed itself to the many white publics because it has been very busy reeling from the blows given it by civil rights organizations of various types; and schools generally appear not to have strength, nor the inclination, to deal sufficiently with these white publics.

The school must achieve, I feel, some universality insofar as its white community attitudes are concerned, along the lines quoted by Miss

Shagaloff earlier, namely – thank God for civil rights now because we can get some of the long-needed improvements in our public schools. I think the schools have missed the boat in not pointing up the value of this whole civil rights revolution for our entire community. The schools can do this when they do face up to the fact that the important implementation of the decision is going to rest on the initiative of the schools.

I strongly suspect, and Dr. Record referred to the desirability of cooperation of the schools with other public agencies, that the recent proliferation of municipal human rights bodies is viewed by many school people as an aid in helping take the heat off the schools. And this suspicion was confirmed recently in a Michigan community which will go unnamed, when I heard the director of a human relations commission give his community's school board a clean bill of health. Later in the same program, a school board member tossed a considerable number of accolades at the director of the human rights agency. They seemed to be enjoying at this point, certainly, a perfect state of connubiality, but I believe that it will probably end in divorce, and very shortly.

I am tremendously impressed with Dr. Record's paper, because he sharply defines the personality types professionally involved in formulating school policy, and those who are engaged in implementing school programs. I am certain we can find examples of all the prototypes which he described in nearly every school system in the non-Southern communities of this nation. The policy and program formulators and program executors were not prepared, and I submit, are not yet prepared to meet the responsibility placed upon them by the Supreme Court's decision. They have seen their once near sacred province of public education assaulted by anthropologists and sociologists, by court decisions, by religious and secular organizations, by human rights groups, and recently by loosely organized and unorganized *ad hoc* direct action groups.

Now, lacking the courage and lacking a commitment to change, lacking an effective communication system within the personnel structure, the public school has reacted in a confused and often hostile manner. Many school boards, administrators and teachers are daily commiserating over their coffee that they have come to a sorry place, but feel that the tide must inevitably turn in their favor. And recently we have seen perceptible changes in the long drawn facial expressions of some of our school friends because of the Supreme Court decision regarding the *de facto* school segregation in Gary, Indiana. And while the high court's refusal to hear the Gary case does not necessarily mean it agreed with the lower court's decision sustaining Gary's school zoning plan, its action has given heart to those who want to go slow or those who want to go not at all. And I would say that there has been general elation in the press, and at least this is an indication of the attitudes of the white press, if not the attitudes of the various white publics.

First, I believe the attitudes of school personnel have not changed appreciably enough to be measured by any known or presently used attitude measuring device. Knowledge concerning segregation, its extent and its impact in our total society has increased to be sure. Much of this increase in popular knowledge has been in the form of social statistics that reflect the frightening disparities between the Negro and white groups. And while organizations of all hues and many colors have damned segregation and lauded integration, implementation, particularly of a voluntary nature, has been very, very, very sadly lacking. I think it is a tragic thing that our most fundamental public institution has produced so few creative leaders, and so many mere reactors to the dynamic society over which public education is called upon to be the chief guardian. Anti-discrimination announcements and brotherhood proclamations appear to indicate, it seems to me, only a timely strategic move rather than any change in attitude.

The only atitudinal changes that I feel we can be certain of are those that have taken place within the Negro community, or properly to broaden the context, within the liberal community. The changing attitudes of the liberal community has caused a loss to the school administrators of a long-time if not always reliable servant, namely, the hand-picked Negro leader who supported and protected the racial *status quo* in public education. He used to be a popular figure. This person was a school administration's insulation against any changes in the Negro mood. I was employed by a local school board of a Southern city at the time that the local NAACP sponsored a salary equalization suit, and one of the Negro principals of the type that I have just described got a message through to all of the Negro teachers that it would be a dangerous thing indeed for them to show any support for the NAACP's effort. The teachers in his own school were given much more pointed instructions, which I shall not detail here, but they amounted to very direct threats. The irony of the situation was that the law-suit was won, and this principal got the biggest salary increase of all. Of course this called for some reassessment of things on the part of the school board and undoubtedly brought some attitudinal changes in the local school administrative set-up.

It is reasonable to assume, I believe, that the predominant, across-the-board attitude of school personnel is basically one of fear, almost an all-consuming fear, the kind of fear a military leader must have when he is being attacked by an uncompromising enemy who has discovered that the opposition has no battle plan and is employing highly inadequate weapons. And this need not have been the case with the public schools. Significant social changes, affecting the interrelationships of racial and ethnic groupings, have been at work for a long time. New institutional forms and patterns have been emerging continuously, making for new power lines at every level of society. The great economic depression and

World War II shattered our guilty delusions, ending those illusions in a virtually iconoclastic orgy; but public education stood on the sidelines, an observer, not a participant, certainly not an initiator of social change. School board members and school administrators focused their plans on a bigger piece of the tax dollar and teachers on higher salaries, smaller classes and more visual aids. Who ever thought the racial question, the question of the quality and the quantity of public education of Negroes, could push other burning questions from the front lines? Did not the Supreme Court settle that matter years ago? Surely, they reasoned, our Constitution is not so flexible or so weak as to permit a major disruption in the sacrosanct domain of education.

The first post-Supreme Court decision reactions were those of shock, mixed with a kind of relief, but the message implied in the ambiguity of the all deliberate speed part of the document drifted over the battle field and the soldiers who fought change and those who feared change (and their numbers are legion) dusted themselves off and resumed their old positions and in so doing preserved our old attitudes of racial separatism.

Then came the booming national economy with two cars in every garage, and one in the driveway, unprecedented home construction and the white flight to suburbia. The inner city became the black core, and suburbia the white ring. Again school personnel for the most part stood by observing and not participating in the charting or the implementing of these changes. Perhaps it is poetic justice therefore, that because of its failure to speak up for democratic housing patterns, the school is now rewarded with a challenge to assist in the correction of one of the chief evils, resulting from housing discrimination, namely, the *de facto* segregated schools. The wide divergence, as indicated in the attitude of positions with the school groups as delineated by Dr. Record, do not offer much prospect of a solid front or institutional position being achieved by school personnel. It is not likely that significant attitudinal changes can be achieved until we first affect significant (and I would add, dramatic programmatic and policy) changes in our public schools systems as they presently operate. Those who employ direct action methods do not address themselves to the attitudes of the school structure, but rather they attack the institutional representation of those attitudes. These are principally school-site selection, teacher assignment patterns, Negro-white pupil ratio, and quality and quantity of school services and facilities. A Negro on a school board, or one or two Negroes in high administrative positions, can no longer placate the liberal citizen's action groups. These groups have diagnosed the ailments of our pluralistic society, and if they conceive that it needs corrective surgery, they insist on being in the operating room throughout the entire operation, if one is performed. Having had our pleas rejected in the past, these groups are now in turn rejecting the hackneyed excuses and the counter-proposals of school boards and school administrators. Sound school integration programs must be predicated on a consensus for the integrated school as a desirable and realistic social goal.

New attitudes (and I stress this) on the part of community and school personnel are not a critical requirement in any new program formulations. The challenge is to the professional integrity and democratic commitment of those in whom resides the public responsibility for education. At best, what will be done to meet the challenge will be too late, and short of the intervention of providence, what will come will be pitifully too little. Thank you.

Statement dictated over the phone from Dr. Moss:

It has been interesting and informative to read Professor Record's very penetrating analysis of school personnel and their reaction to school integration. I prefer to react to its implication rather than to its factual content.

My life has coincided with America's 20th Century, plus one year. Gradually as I have matured with that century, I have come to depend upon what I have considered to be two eternal verities. One of these is the assumption that truth shall make one free. Surely a life spent with the institutions of public education can be assumed to be a life devoted to the search for truth, with considerable hope for success in that pursuit.

In relation to this assumption I find Professor Record's conclusions as to the attitude of school personnel devastatingly disillusioning. If there be a vocation in America today whose followers are free, it should be the teaching profession. This conclusion appears to be shattered, totally.

The second of my eternal verities has been faith in democracy as a way of life and the social justice it presumably would produce. Again, I see nothing but broken ruins of this ideal, as a result of Professor Record's findings.

Across the land the democratic ideals cannot be taught to the youth of America by schoolmen who have attitudes such as discovered among them by Professor Record. Thus my second eternal verity seems in grave danger as an American ideal. I cannot, or is it, I will not, believe that the above two catastrophic conclusions are correct. Our America has been wrought out of a blending of all nations and all peoples. Yes, it includes all mankind's weaknesses, but it also draws upon all human strengths. I do believe the strengths will prevail in the ultimate end.

Were I able to be present with you I would attempt to present the facts of the racial conflict in Prince Edward County, Virginia, to substantiate the above observations. I deeply regret my physical inability to be present and wish all success for the Symposium.

Professor James McKee:

As I listened to Dr. Record's paper I was impressed by the fact that he covered the wide scope of the relevant individuals involved in the difficult problems of education and integration: the school board, those citizens elected to assume responsibility for the general direction of policy; the administrators; and then the classroom teachers.

My comments constitute an attempt to probe into a couple of the areas which he, of necessity, could touch on but lightly; and stem also from my own observations and concerns about the direction in which the efforts in which the very dedicated struggle for integrated education is taking us in the United States; and these are not sanguine comments.

It seems to me that we are at a point where we are understandably focussing in the North on the existence of *de facto* segregation. And it is the kind of focussing that gives me great concern because I fear that what may occur is a kind of political adjustment in terms of changing proportions. But a shift in the proportions is not necessarily the attainment of integrated education, and that in much of this public discussion that has gone on about the proportions of Negro children and white children in schools, we have barely addressed ourselves to the question of what, in fact, is integrated education.

The fear that I'm trying to convey to you is the fear that what we will attain are what I would call mixed schools, not integrated schools; but that boards and administrators and teachers of the varying orientations, here so well indicated, can use this as a defense that they will have yielded to pressures, and have found a political solution. Indeed many of them are obviously seeking that now.

I do not think most educators know what integration in school, integration in education, really means. I think, in fact, they think of it in terms of some balance of numbers. They think of it in terms of more black and brown bodies, where there are white bodies now. And while this is a necessary step, I am here asserting it is but a first step. Certainly civil rights leaders themselves, who in their political actions are attempting to crack the *de facto* segregation pattern in major American communities, must not assume that the bending of the school board to such political pressure and the shifting of students around to get different kinds of proportions, in any way constitutes integration and indeed may very well thwart it.

It seems to me school integration then has something to do with the quality of the education, not merely the quantity. It, to be sure, has to occur in a situation that is racially mixed, but that is merely the opportunity; and I, myself, a long time ago, went to a school whose proportions would warrant integration, but in fact was not integrated. And what I'm trying to express here is the fear that this kind of thing, not at all uncommon in American cities, may simply be reconstituted in wider scope. A school which accommodates, in varying kinds of ways, a given proportion (20, 30, even 40 per cent) of Negroes and the rest whites, but a school in which the fact of race and differential treatment because of race still operates within the school building, within the activities or the behavior of the teachers and with the sanction and support of principals and administrators, and in the way in which children are counseled is not an integrated school. Surely, the race and class has frequently been taken into consideration by schools' counselors, or in the manner in which children are encouraged or discouraged to pursue different kinds of school programs, or in the wide expectations and approval that Negro boys will go out for athletics and be on the football or basketball team but not in the equivalent expectations that Negro children or students will participate in debating or dramatics, or a number of other kinds of activities. This is my one point—namely, that the political fight outside must not stop at simply changing the numerical proportions, otherwise, there will have been perpetrated in our time one of the greatest cheats possible, for it is conceivable to create a form of segregated education within a school building, unless there is some conception of what, in fact, integrated education is.

The biggest difficulty in attaining genuine integrated education within the classrooms, as well as within the varied activities carried on in the school lies in teachers, for we do not have today in America any significant number of teachers who have any notion at all of what integration in education really means. We have the range of attitudes that Dr. Record here specified for teachers, and it seems to me that he did not attempt to enumerate (and I don't know that anyone could really right now) the various proportions of teachers among the various types from the most hostile to the most liberal, but I would suspect myself that the larger number would fall in those categories farthest removed from those capable of creating a genuinely integrated learning situation.

In my own concerns with teachers, one small fact that I have found most disconcerting, is that too many teachers think that they do not convey racial attitudes to their children because they do not overtly say something unkind and the like; but they totally underestimate the capacity of children, and most of all they underestimate the capacity of Negro children to size up quite accurately a white teacher in terms of the reality of her attitudes; and therefore, to respond in those terms. These attitudes are often conveyed by much more subtle kind of cues than the overt thing that the teacher restrains herself from saying, but in the very process she always gives herself away. What I am saying is that we have so many teachers who are at this stage, who are so far removed from being capable of meeting Negro students on an even human ground, that our opportunities to create genuine learning for all races within the classroom is, I think, at present severely limited. I feel this so strongly that, as a matter of fact, I think we need to make a strenuous effort to provide a kind of training that colleges of education, including this one at MSU, do not now do and apparently are not even dreaming of doing, and that is of preparing teachers who are capable of going into those situations where children are racially disadvantaged and economically deprived. We do not prepare them to cope with it; we do not give them the faintest understanding of what is involved, and certainly we do not try to create the kind of teacher who, not only is capable, but indeed wants to and is anxious to move into that kind of situation. I feel that we have reached a point where, at the university level, for those who teach teachers to teach have got to prepare young people, and to recruit young people, who want to teach and can learn to teach in this kind of situation, or else we simply will not fully realize the fruits of integration. I think the political struggle will simply give us an opportunity to serve these fruits, but this is an opportunity we may badly miss; and if we do, it will certainly be the outstanding tragedy of our time.

Record:

I think we take a great many liberties and are somewhat arbitrary in setting up typologies and classifying and grouping people. We are perhaps becoming guilty of that which we deplore in others, namely, stereotyping. However, I think we certainly do need to try, much more than we have in the past, to identify, as carefully as we possibly can, those people who are interested in dealing with one of the really critical and persistent issues in our time.

I would like to make one other point. It involves the phrase, culturally deprived. I would certainly agree with an earlier panelist that the way that we do conceive individuals, the way we do identify them, makes a great deal of difference. For example, if we talk about the culturally deprived, we are talking about something out there in the culture. Presumably something has to be done to manipulate or change the culture before the ill from which the individual is suffering can be remedied. This is a question-begging phrase, because no one is culturally deprived. Everyone has a culture. This is why he is a human being. And if he does not have a culture, he is not regarded as being a full member of the human group. I think a much better phrase would be the education-denied. Then we can start talking about some things about which we can do something specifically. We can start doing something in the schools. For example, we can start by pushing the nursery school attendance age down to 2, instead of 4, and we can start getting at this problem of developing this educational and learning potential much earlier. And we are going to have to do it because the costs are so great and the rewards are so little with the passage of time that it is a pretty obvious step that we are going to have to take.

Also there is another phrase that is in wide use now and I will offer my objections and then stop, and that is the term, drop-out. Why not shove out, or counsel out, or throw out. Again this is a kind of self-serving concept. The student just drops out presumably, through no fault of the institution, or its personnel. He just dropped out. And yet I know that in the junior colleges in California, half the counselors spend most of their time counseling students out of the institution—not counseling them into it. And I think this goes on in a great many other institutions.

Question:

This may be dangerous; but I happen to be one of those school administrators concerning whom he has been talking about up there, and I happen to serve in a community that I think is quite well integrated as far as housing and schools are concerned. I have, however, served in other places and I hope what I say will not be misunderstood. I would like to ask Dr. Record a question because I think sometimes you have to live with this business to completely understand what the problems and conditions are that school administrators face. I want to find out whether Dr. Record has ever had this experience of serving as a school superintendent or an administrator in a community and can really point out what some of these problems are.

Record:

No, I have never been a school administrator.

Question:

These are some of the things that we face. Now, there is no question that school superintendents try to dodge this issue. On the other hand, we work for a board of education and that theoretically represents the thinking of the community. On this matter of trying to bring about integration so far as numbers are concerned is something that is not always easy to obtain. I have had this experience. A person wanted to move his youngsters from one school to another because of the class size, and in some instances we have backed off from this because it almost resulted in physical violence because of the resistance in moving people from one neighborhood to another. These are some of the problems we face. Most of our elementary schools are filled almost to capacity. When you move 100 pupils from one school over to another, to bring about some of the things we have been talking about, you have to move 100 out. This is where we run into the problem. People do not mind having to move pupils from one place to another, but when you have to pick up a group over here and move them out you face serious resistance on the part of the people. These are some of the problems you face in dealing with American parents and sometimes you have to deal with those problems to find out what problems we have.

Record:

Well, I do not mean to minimize the kinds of very specific and very demanding problems that a school administrator must confront. I would emphasize, however, that most school administrators, particularly principals and superintendents about whom I know and with whom I have worked, do have a considerable amount of discretion. They are not the passive instruments of the school board. As a matter of fact, in many cases, we can have a very substantial influence on members of the school board and in that section of the paper, dealing with board members, I identify a type that I call the administration-dominated member. I have certainly had enough experience with school boards to observe that individuals of this type are frequently on boards and strong administrators do not only influence them but they can frequently influence them very substantially. Do the schools have the responsibility for bringing about social change? I would say, Yes, they do. I do not think they have much of an alternative now, and I think administrators have a key role to play in it; and certainly the administrators are not passive, mechanical executors of board will. There is a wide area of discretion—more on some issues than on others; and I think there can be a great deal more done by school administrators themselves than they have been willing to do until now. If you identify yourself, however, as being powerless and being merely an instrument for a legislative body, then you are likely to wait and let the initiative come from them whereas it might very well come from the school superintendent or principal.

Question:

There is a problem that we have not discussed—namely, the importance of an integrated teaching staff, one which is truly integrated in school situations. I think by integrating the teaching staff of all schools, we can do a steady educational job on fellow teachers. In the Midwest, there is a context of Negro teachers, teaching Negro children, more than a completely integrated teaching staff. This also extends to other tasks in the school system. You have an all-white clerical staff, all-white cafeteria staff. I think that where you have truly integrated school systems you have to have integration on all levels of work and not just on the professionals or non-professionals in order to do well. I think this may be one of the key points that will change the attitudes of teachers and also of parents and students.

Chairman:

Anyone care to react to the statement?

Question:

I do not know whether I should go home and resign my position as superintendent of schools, or whether I should do something else radical like jumping out of a window. I have been here all day. I did not have to be here this whole day, but at home I do not know what to do as I do not occupy a leadership role and I would like a few guidelines.

I want to react and do not know how to do it. I live in a community which has segregated housing. I live in a community that could give you the segregated schooling, but does not. I would like to have all the help in the world in the recruitment, selection and promotion of policies about this in our school system, to do the very thing that was just spoken of. Instead of accusing us superintendents of the things you have accused us of, instead of insisting upon this and insisting upon that, why don't you help us a little bit?

McKee:

I would like to comment on that. My feeling was that the gentleman least needed to apologize for his outburst, for I think that vigorous talking back is a legitimate part of the game, and maybe the trouble is that administrators and school teachers are too used to talking too damn politely and need to be castigated once in a while. But you have a perfect right to castigate back.

The point you make about where the responsibility lies, of course, is a sort of truism and I do not think anyone would deny that it lies with all of us. Some of us, however, are in more strategic positions than others, and the policies we follow may be more important and have more effect.

The last point I made, of course, was that I thought a very fundamental responsibility comes right back here to the campus, to those of us who are responsible for the teaching of teachers to teach. And I would say to my colleagues in the College of Education that as a matter of fact I do not think they have done very much or anything about the integration issue in teaching teachers to teach.

Chairman:

Except to invite you to participate, among other things.

McKee:

Yes, a couple of little things. I think one of the greatest failures (and it is a tragic failure) of the College of Education is that the very kind of image of teaching that it holds up tends to not only recruit some that we might better well not have recruited, but discourages others who at least had originally some kind of an interest in it. To hold up an image of the ideal teaching situation as a kind of nice middle-class classroom sort of thing which is totally different from the realities of low economic level, racial patterns and the like that urban teachers are likely to encounter is not only preparing young teachers for such teaching, but indeed it creates the notion that this is lowest on the totem pole and not most desirable in teaching and thereby motivates them to get out of it. We need to do the other kinds of motivations. I am perfectly willing to accept your assertion that some of the responsibility lies elsewhere, and I think it lies part of it here on this campus and other campuses like it, at the very starting point.

Layton:

I would just like to make an additional comment, that first of all I think this is the most refreshing thing that has happened all day, certainly this afternoon. I have had the benefit of this kind of refreshing indignation in this gentleman's office.

I think, as has been pointed out here, that a great part of the difficulty that schools are in now is caused by the fact that they have reacted so defensively. They permitted themselves to be dissected by social scientists and others, who have conducted research on them, and they have not struck back with any forthrightness. Why do not school people start dissecting some of these other institutions in the community to whom they should relate? And I think the public school is in the position that industry was a few years back when it got into serious difficulty in reacting defensively to charges of discrimination. And then, what did industry do? Industry started pointing up the high cost of discrimination, talking about the tremendous Negro market being greater than that of the whole of Canada, etc. And I think when the school does present the attributes of integration and stops reacting defensively to this numbers games that is being played and comes up with some good programs in terms of good quality—and I particularly like Dr. McKee's stressing the quality aspects of this thing—the school will find itself in a position to interact with the other agencies in the community and gain public support from all the various publics that are involved in the community.

Question:

It has always been, I think, the stated contribution of sociology to point out the interrelationships between the institutions and to force them all to understand the linkages between them. In our cities today we are facing some extremely impractical and difficult problems, and we have not succeeded with them very well. We have not succeeded in integrating a single middle-class neighborhood, for example, over a long period of time so that we can say it is permanently workable. A lot of us have worked at it, we have done research on it, but when the population of Negroes in a community is large we have been a flop. The same thing is true in our problems of health, care of the aged, and of unemployment. I want to show just one little incident which I think illustrates the point I am trying to make.

When Conant was working on his book, *Slums and Sufferers,* he examined the graduates and the drop-outs from a Detroit East Side high school and discovered that among the kids who had dropped out in the years between 1957-1961 almost 70% were unemployed. But of the group that had graduated from the high school during that same period of 1957-1961, again about 70% were unemployed. I would like you to put yourself in the places of the counselors in those schools who are trying to motivate children from very poor homes to stay in school. In a responsible community, I am sorry to say, there has been a public relations jingle (which offends my ears), "Be Cool, Stay in School."

So far Congress has not acted in finding the jobs which are necessary for these programs to succeed. And that same thing is true all the way down the line.

Now, if anybody takes this as an excuse for deficiencies in education, I would be infuriated. Nevertheless, the community is giving to our school systems from one area children who are sick, who are hungry, who are grossly neglected, who are in need of psychological services. (In our big cities they are not available.) They are giving them to teachers in groups of 40 and over and saying: Educate them and make up for every bit that has been done to them. I think this is unrealistic.

Record:

I wish I could assure you that the schools no longer need worry because they will be relieved of the many burdens that they have been having to carry. But this is not the case. More and more demands are going to be made upon the schools because the locus of the problem has shifted, in terms of age, and is shifting further and further downward so that solutions, it is now increasingly recognized, must be found really in preventive measures. This means that the schools are going to have to somehow take a larger measure of responsibility. The tremendous amount of psychic damage, the tremendous amount of basic retardation that will have occurred by the time the child reaches 6 or 7 when the schools first get him, will be so great in terms of the increasing demands that are going to be made upon him as an adult, that something will have to be done. This necessitates bringing the child into the system, and for a school to exert its influence at a much earlier age than is occurring at the present time. And there is no other institution that can do it. Mr. Layton was talking about the change that had occurred in industry, but most fair employment legislation at the present time is not particularly relevant for the unskilled or the semi-skilled worker. There are simply no kinds of openings available for him and he does not have the capacity to develop the necessary skills, or at least if he has the capacity, it would involve very substantial time and cost in order to develop it so we must start further and further down the line. And this, I think, is what we are going to be asking the schools to do. I think the schools, in turn, ought to demand the resources with which to get the job done. I think it also needs to show that is is capable of attracting and holding and developing people who have basically a professional commitment—a teacher's teacher, a professional's professional, whose concern primarily is professional considerations rather than personal and social ones, and who is not impeded too much by bureaucratic ones.

I am very glad that the gentleman who spoke out earlier did so. I realize that school people must be feeling put upon a great deal these days from a great many sources, and yet remember this: the schools are the basic instrument for the necessary socialization that is increasingly demanded in the society, and school people, in the final analysis, are professionals who can, it seems to me, develop and follow professional commitments and, although they are not exclusively professionals in their concerns, I think if more emphasis were given to this responsibility we could have a much healthier situation in many respects.

INTEGRATION: THE KEY TO QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

By Frank Riessman
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Much of the current discussion concerning school integration revolves around the issue of whether quality education can be provided for white and Negro children alike, particularly in the transitional integration period when Negro youngsters will be "catching up" to their white schoolmates. The underlying assumption here, which, incidentally, is the basis of much of the white parents' resistance to integration, is that while Negro children may benefit educationally from integrated schools, the white (presumably middle-class) children will be held back until the minority group comes up to grade level. Thus, arguments aimed at convincing white resisters that Negroes have suffered from educational segregation, whether *de jure* or *de facto,* and that integrated education can overcome these losses for the Negro child, fall on deaf white ears. Actually much of the argument only serves to feed the anxiety of the white parent, who can only envision negative educational results for his child when mixed with his Negro counterpart.

There is increasing evidence, however, that the integrated education drive and its concomitant concern for the education of the urban disadvantaged child is actually powering educational benefits for *all* children, not only Negro children. For example, the great hue and cry that arose regarding the "segregated," white face, white theme "Dick and Jane" readers, has led to the development of a variety of new "urban" readers that appear not only to improve the reading ability of the Negro children but lead also to the improvement of the white children's reading.* Even more dramatic the *Wall Street Journal* reports that in approximately 10% of *Southern* schools where some desegregation has taken place, not only do the Negro pupils improve rapidly, but the white youngsters appear to advance also:

> "Other educators concede that the first Negro children to enter formerly white schools often lag behind their white classmates scholastically, because of their environment and the poor education many had been receiving in Negro schools. But once in

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* See article by Fred Hechinger in *New York Sunday Times,* Feb. 9, 1964, page E9.

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> school with whites, teachers say, the Negroes usually study hard to close the gap—and the white children often study hard to prevent having the Negroes pass them. Typical results: Tests made the year before and the year after integration in Louisville, Ky., show substantial gains in scholastic achievement for both Negro and white second, sixth and eighth graders with the Negroes making proportionately the larger gains."*

Our argument is that for a variety of reasons the demand for integrated education is likely to produce a far superior public school "quality" education for all. This includes better readers, curriculum materials, teachers, teaching methods, administrative procedures and more widespread parent involvement. With regard to parents, the remarks of United States Commissioner Francis Keppel are most relevant:

> "For years we have talked of the disinterest and apathy of slum parents. We have argued that we can't teach their children because they are not interested in education and because their parents have not taught them to be interested. But now, out of the civil rights movement, we are learning differently. We are learning that many of these parents are interested and have finally found the way to express their interest."**

We do not mean to suggest, of course, that integrated education will automatically and uniformly produce improved educational practices. There will certainly be transitional problems (which are being exaggerated out of all proportion by fear mongers); and if the integration measures are handled poorly, in a vacillating manner, certain temporary educational and integration setbacks can occur. But the overwhelming effect can be, and already is in the examples we have cited, an important step toward a drastically bettered educational system, a system which despite its countless critics, has edged forward only ever so slightly in recent years.***

Integration Strategy

We should like to turn now to two problems which are closely related to the thesis we have put forward, extending the argument in two specific directions. The first problem concerns the strategy for the achievement of integrated schools (in the North); the second is concerned with a strategy for education in the transitional period—before the Negro children have "caught up." This latter is of particular importance because of the tendency to "ability group" the Negro children in the new setting, which can quickly develop into intra-school *de facto* segregation.

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* *Wall Street Journal,* Jan. 20, 1964, "Integration in Action," by James C. Tanner.

** *New York Times,* Feb. 16, 1964.

***Past research on the educational effects of integration are not always unequivocally positive; rather the studies provide clues as to the specific integrated conditions that must be provided for maximal results. But as Pettigrew concludes in surveying these investigations: "Balanced schools are however, an imperative first step. In simplest terms, the segregated school defeats the Negro child virtually before he begins his educational career. At least the racially-balanced school has the *potentiality* of offering the Negro child—and the white child—an academic and emotional preparation for tomorrow's interracial world." (Thomas Pettigrew and Patricia Pajonas "Social Psychological Considerations of Racially-Balanced Schools", presented at New York State Education Department Conference, New York City, March 31, 1964.)

We have already implied that integration strategy suffers because it attempts to win white parents to integration by citing the negative effects of segregation on the Negro. This is a logical and deeply moral argument, but psychologically, it is not only ineffective with most white resisters, but actually may boomerang when these same white parents begin to anticipate the products of segregation retarding their own children in the new integrated situations. We have stated that it is far more effective to cite the likelihood that integration will produce spreading educational benefits for white as well as Negro pupils. But, of course, this is not enough to halt the resistance of most white groups. And while we will not attempt a complete strategy, we think it is necessary to at least outline the dimensions of such a strategy, which most school boards—even the most farseeing New York Board of Education—have overlooked, largely because of an emphasis which is too local in character. Schematically our proposed strategy is the following:

1. It must be made abundantly clear and repeated *ad infinitum*, that integration is going to happen; it is supported by the law, the courts, the churches, the federal power structure and in the north by most of the state power structures and the State Commissioners of Education. Local school boards must take their cue from this broader context and not become overly responsive to every local resisting group, of which there are likely to be many.

2. While every effort must be made to convince various white groups of the educational gains to be achieved through integration (as we have indicated above), it should not be presumed that argument alone is decisive; much more crucial is the planned, rapid, wholehearted, unvacillating implementation of integration plans which have built in to them at every possible point innovative educational programs for all. These programs should come from the initiative of boards of education, not as a delayed response to the urging of militant civil rights groups! Moreover, integration plans, because they reflect the law of the land, cannot be subordinated to the wishes of, let us say, a local Negro community group that would rather have a new school built in their segregated area than on a site that would serve an integrated student body. Integration is the law of the land and it must be obeyed. It is not to be voted upon as each local situation arises.

3. In the context provided by the first two points, every effort must be made to show the positive educational effects for white as well as Negro, and highly imaginative education proposals must be fostered to insure these benefits—plans such as the new grouping plans developed at Hartsdale, New York,* the Bank Street Modular Proposals for pinpoint planning using clusters of schools in New York City to develop integration excellence **—Max Wolff's Educational Park. ***

The significant aspect of the Educational Park is the vastly increased educational efficiency and economy it promises through the consolidation of resources, teaching personnel, etc.

John Barden states the issue very well:

> "The neighborhood schools are inefficient and hopelessly expensive. Hundreds of schools located, neighborhood by neighborhood, over metropolises of hundreds of square miles, are incredibly wasteful. Precedent, too, affirms the advantages of consolidation. The consolidation of rural schools is almost complete, and great gains have been made thereby in instructional quality and impressive savings in money. Most junior and senior high schools in metropolitan regions are consolidated to a limited degree, with limited gains and savings.
>
> Consolidation will proceed because it pays and because the necessities of twentieth-century public schooling demand it."****

It is quite likely that the Educational Park concept will become an integral feature in the future of urban redevelopment in the United States.

If plans such as those we have mentioned (and there are many others) are supported by government and private foundation moneys—if saturated quality integration proposals become the order of the day, rather than saturated compensatory education for segregated areas—then the entire public school system will benefit. Under these conditions we may see, not continuation of the current exodus from the public school to the private school, but a flow back from the expensive private school (which large number of middle-class people can hardly afford) to an excellent integrated public school system. The point is that integration must be made as educationally rewarding as possible, and this requires foundation and governmental support. The civil rights movement and all supporters of quality integrated education might well focus their attention on winning such support. Among other things, our proposed platform would greatly reduce the isolation of this movement from large numbers of potential allies who are at present bystanders.

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* Reported by Aaron Lipton, in *Integrated Education*, Feb.-March 1964, "Classroom Grouping and Integration."

** The Bank Street College Proposals are being developed comparatively with the school administration of various districts in New York City. (Personal communication from Dr. John Niemeyer, President, Bank Street College of Education)

*** See "Community vs. Neighborhood—The Educational Park," by John Barden, *Nation*. April 20, 1964, pp. 388-391

****Ibid.*, p. 389

Education Strategy for The Transition Period

It is extremely important that there be a carefully planned approach for the period in which the Negro youngster, moving from a segregated school to a desegregated one, catches up to his white classmate. The following is proposed outline for this period.

1. Most of the catching up should be done in intensive after school programs—afternoons, weekends, summers, vacations can all be utilized. Homework helpers, tutors, teaching machines, educational TV, specially trained teachers, and the best existing teachers and supervisors (master teachers) should be utilized. These programs should focus on reading, basic knowledge and school know-how (test-taking skills, how to do homework, make outlines, participate in class, take notes, etc.). The assumption should be made that these students are ignorant and uninformed rather than unintelligent, non-verbal, lacking in motivation and the like. The parents must be intensively involved in supporting these after school programs. Dr. Samuel Sheppard's approach to involving parents in the Banneker District of St. Louis might provide an excellent model.

Pre-school programs, while important, are not the answer and they have been overemphasized. We believe that major developments in integration and education are going to take place within the next decade, and current pre-schoolers will simply not be old enough to play any role in these decisive developments. Hence, much more attention must be given to our present-day adolescents. The prevailing pessimism regarding the educability of other than nursery school minority group children is not based upon evidence, or any serious intensive effort to overcome their academic deficiencies. When effort has been made as in Sheppard's St. Louis project, disadvantaged youngsters at the elementary and junior high school levels have quickly improved to grade level.* Much more comprehensive efforts than Sheppard's might very well produce even more startling results. It is time to put an end to the tendency toward educational surrender on all but the four-year-olds of minority background!

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* Sheppard's project is taking place in a largely segregated district and thus does not argue for integrated education; we cite it only as an illustration of the possible rapid academic improvement of Negro low income youngsters in grades 1-8.

2. Any catching up within school hours must guard zealously against the possibility that supposedly temporary homogeneous grouping does not develop into intra-school *de facto* segregation. If grouping takes place at all, there must be constant evaluation to insure that there is fluidity—that the Negro children must constantly be moving out of the "lowest" ranks into the mainstream of the school. Moreover, any grouping that takes place should be for only a part of the day, so that integrated classes are operating simultaneously in the remainder of the day. Grouping plans such as that developed at Hartsdale, which guarantee integration within the grouping system, should be considered. In heterogenous grouping situations extra personnel can be introduced into the integrated classroom to work with the sub groups that temporarily trail in academic achievement. Team learning practices can also be instituted in these classes and the more advanced pupils can be encouraged to assist the less advanced ones (actually teaching others is a splendid learning device, so the advanced youngsters should benefit considerably from this experience).

3. The school culture should expand to include appreciation of the powerful positive features in the physical, visual, expressive, lively, earthy, creative style that characterizes many disadvantaged children. The school has been too onesidedly oriented toward middle-class, bookish, auditory styles and could profit from a more pluralistic, democratic embracing of a wide variety of learning styles.* Teaching techniques (such as role playing, Warner's organics approach, Senesch's organic curriculum, Montessori-like methods, the use of games, films, programmed learning and many, many others) strongly suited to low-income urban youngsters, will also revolutionize the rather dull school curriculum, and be highly beneficial to all pupils. It is in this sense in particular that we believe the integration pressure is going to dramatically revamp the school system and thus serve all classes and groups. This is the fundamental reason for believing that integration is the key to a new kind of quality education for all.

David Gottlieb:

I would agree wholeheartedly with Dr. Riessman that as a result of the push for integration school life is no longer boring or dull. It's so exciting that one is amazed—at least I have been as I have gone to do research in different schools—that they've managed to round up a sufficient number of teachers to open the doors.

I, however, would like to talk about some of the other consequences of this integration movement; and I guess, like everybody else, I find it necessary to start by saying, *I'm for integration.* Please don't misunderstand me. I'm not, though, for interracial schools. I am for integrated schools.

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* See Frank Riessman, "The Culturally Deprived Child: A New View", *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 20, no. 5, Feb. 1963, pp. 337-347.

I think some of the other consequences are that we now have a tendency in our society to blame the schools for almost everything that goes wrong. A boy drops out of school, and the answer is that somewhere along the line the school has failed, although, if we look at certain background characteristics, we can fairly well predict the kinds of kids who will drop out of school, based on some of these background characteristics. In other words, this kid who comes out of an inner city area, even before he gets into the school, has the cards stacked against him.

I think one of the other dangers is that we are holding the schools responsible for a job that every social institution and every professional has to do and that is to end discrimination in housing and in employment. Now, this is something for which the school should not be held responsible. This is something we must do. And let me carry this a step further. It does not matter to me if one has an interracial textbook which shows Ralph Bunche and Jackie Robinson and Stan Musial standing around together, and it says, "Isn't brotherhood wonderful?" As long as the Negro kid sits in that classroom and he perceives the world that says, "When the chips are down and I go to apply for a job, it's not going to be my education; it's going to be my color that's going to nail me."

Bussing in of Negro students or white students is just a stop-gap measure, because we are going to have segregated schools in the North, as we already have. There are segregated schools in Detroit—all Negro schools. There are segregated schools in New York. There are segregated schools in Mississippi. I do not see anything that is so superior to an all-Negro school in New York City than to one in Alabama. In fact, I think the one in New York is even more harmful from a psychological point of view to the student, because in the one in New York, he's been told about brotherhood and understanding. And in Alabama and Mississippi, the cards have been laid on the table and he's been told quite clearly where he stands. I think that until we begin to concentrate on these other areas and recognize the fact that the school cannot be solely responsible for the job of ending discrimination, we're not going to make much progress, even though we change some textbooks.

I think there are some other consequences of the civil rights push which are worthy of our concern: What is the impact this does have on the youngsters? I am not talking about grade point achievement. I would take great exception to what Dr. Sam Sheppard is doing in the Banneker project. I am sure he is raising the scores of these youngsters, but I would like to know a little more about how they are beginning to perceive the outside world and other people. I am beginning to wonder if the emphasis isn't, "Look at all you people; let's show the white world how well we can do." So parents sign a paper that says, "Your kids will not watch television every night," and scores are posted in the classroom so that each teacher will know what progress is being made. Again, if the ultimate aim is to raise standardized scores, I think we can go ahead and do the same process we're going through now. In other words, students in northern schools do better on standardized tests, but I think if we are talking about the integration of people into a social system, we cannot just go through the schools alone.

Now, one other thing that I would like to mention. In some of the research that we have been doing with Negro and white adolescents, it has become apparent to me that many of our schools are not integrated, even though there are Negroes and whites. The Negroes and whites maintain two separate social systems. People will say, "You go into a lunchroom and you see all of the Negro kids sitting by themselves." In one of the schools which we've studied (which has a very small Negro population) we found very few students who wanted to stay in that school. They wanted out. They said, "We're alone here; we're detached; we're alienated. We came here because our parents wanted us to come just so it would become one of the open schools." But these were youngsters who now wanted out. On the other hand, with research in schools that virtually all the students are Negroes, the Negro students are saying, "I wish I'd been at a school where there are more whites."

Now, as far as the educational kinds of implications, let me just try to sum it up this way: I don't think merely by bussing in some youngsters, or putting some Negro and white students in a school together, one has accomplished this thing called integration. To me, integration comes when every individual is an active part of the total social system. The Negro students who come into these schools and the white students in these schools have to be integrated into the various activities and events and programs of the school, and this is not being done now.

If you want to do a little research on this subject, buy yourself ten big city high school yearbooks. Count the number of Negro and white students in the graduating class; then look at the activities that are offered to students and you will find a remarkable thing. The Negro boys are in athletics, but rarely do you find that Negroes have participated in student councils, student government and some of the more academic activities within the school. The answer on the part of some teachers to this is: that they are not interested in those kinds of things. Then look at what happens as the proportion of Negroes increases in a high school and see what kinds of activities are eliminated. It is a wonderful, self-fulfilling prophecy. School administrators anticipate that these are kids who are not interested in science clubs, math clubs, arithmetic clubs, post-college clubs, and so they eliminate them, and they are not made available. Then the administrators turn around and say that the Negroes really are not interested in these clubs anyway.

But what can be done in the schools?

I think there's a tremendous job to be done in teacher selectivity. I, for one, have very little faith that we are going to bring about significant changes among teachers who are in the field today, although, of course, there are exceptions. I think there has to be a whole revision in teacher selectivity. I think it is a major mistake to think that all one has to do is to take any person who has maintained a C average and give her Cronbach's book about Educational Psychology in the Suburbs, and a course on School in Society where she learns about what happened in Elmtown's youth 35 years ago. She, as a result, has the picture of herself: "Some day I'm going to walk out of here and I'm going to go into Oak Park and I'm going to sit there, and there are going to be all these smiling, red-apple faced children, and they'll say, 'Yes, m'am,' and I'll say, 'Yes, sir,' and it will just be wonderful."

These prospective teachers are going into inner city kinds of teaching. There have to be great changes in teacher training, and I for one, as a faculty member of Michigan State University, am highly disillusioned that even at this late stage of the game, 10 years after the Supreme Court decision, Michigan State University has not done anything about this that I know of, although we are producing more teachers than many colleges of education around the country. And I think that integration begins at home.

The final point I want to make is this notion of integration as opposed to an interracial kind of system. And to me, the ultimate gain must be in housing and the unemployment, because unless we have open housing, obviously bussing in 10 or 15 Negro kids will not help much. What is going to happen eventually is that we will again have residential segregation, and what was once a school with 20% Negro is now 40% Negro, or 60% Negro and then becomes an all-Negro school when the white population moves out a little farther. Next, some 10 years later, the Negro population will move out to where the whites had gone. Other ethnic groups follow the same pattern, and this is why a number of sociologists and ecologists who have watched the Jewish migration movement, have predicted that automatically, in 1000 years at any rate, the Jews will all be in Israel because they are moving in that direction.

In conclusion then, I have no real disagreement with what Dr. Reissman has said. Let us try these different things. Let us experiment. But I think we make a grave error of dropping all of this onto the schools, and holding the schools responsible. And I think it is a harmful thing for the whole civil rights movement, because we are just avoiding the crucial kind of battle which is not in the schools, because the kids will get along. We know that. I don't think the adolescents do. There are distinct racial social systems on the part of adolescents and their perceptions. But as far as the younger kids go, I think they're off to a good start. I don't think that's the problem.

The problem is really that one can say to the Negro child how wonderful America is, how wonderful democracy is, and there is a wonderful life waiting for him. And the kid walks out, and we know what happens. He is told he can't come in here. His parents would like to move into a certain neighborhood and he is told they can't move in there. And he would like to get a certain job but he has never heard of a Negro getting into that job. So again, I think the movement is something much greater, and I think we make a real error in constantly pounding the schools, and pounding the schools as if this is where the ultimate solution is.

Dr. Edmund Gordon:

We have arrived at the period in human history in which man is increasingly required to manage vast categories of knowledge, to identify and solve highly complicated interdisciplinary problems, and to arrive at infinitely complex conceptualizations and judgments, in order to feed, control and advance the technological and social organization by which we live. The quality of the leaders, the adequacy of conceptual confidence, the depth of human understanding and compassion required of those who must man that organization are not routinely produced in today's schools. In fact, we school people are constantly embarrassed by the large numbers of young people for whom we have failed to prepare for a much less complicated, much less complex intellectual, academic, vocational and social functioning. We are also under attack from some quarters for our failure to give adequate preparation, even to many of those who succeed in our system. Witness the large number of "successful" people who read inefficiently and without pleasure, or those among us whose skills in arithmetic are limited to simple computation, or the large number of high school and college graduates who have difficulty in recognizing a concept, and are practically incapable of producing a clear one.

Professional education has a long history and it is not without some success but its failures are many, and in its present state, it is hardly ready to meet the demands of the late 20th century.

Our nation has faced crises before. Following the Great Depression of the early 30's and confronted with the incongruities of high level industrial potential and low level socio-economic organization, the social revolution waged by workers in the process of organization challenged and led our nation into new concepts of governmental responsibility for the promotion of the general welfare of its populace. New concepts, new techniques, new approaches to socio-economic organization were introduced and accepted as social necessities in a modern, industrialized society, and in large measure, enabled this nation to meet the domestic and international challenges of mid-century.

Now, not unrelated to the growing crises in intellectual resources and management of knowledge, another social revolution has emerged—this time waged by Negroes, their allies, and probably soon to be joined by the proverty-stricken. This is a resolution in support of civil rights, or probably more correctly stated a revolution in support of human rights. The demand is for total and meaningful integration into the mainstream of our society. The battle cry is for equality of opportunity, to share in the wealth of our nation; and there are many kinds of wealth here. And equality of educational achievement is often viewed as the major means to that end.

There is no doubt but that this revolution is going to succeed. We can help it succeed, we can slow it down, we may even be able to temporarily divert it, but we cannot stop it. Our major choice is between helping it come in peace, or seeing it come in strife; but as the social revolution of the 30's challenged our society to move to a higher level of socio-economic organization as a matter of social necessity, the civil rights and human rights revolution of the 60's pose certain challenges, certain responsibilities, and certain opportunities for society in general and for education in particular. Dr. Reissman has posed the challenge in terms of higher education, and his strategies for change are appropriate and practical. However, I'd like to give emphasis to the following issues:

The dual crises of the 60's challenge educators to teach, to teach in new and infinitely more creative ways; the challenges of integration and of the exposion of knowledge demand that the previous complacency, characteristic of the traditional standardized curriculum and its bastard models, no longer be tolerated. The school has used the increasing tendency toward homogeneous grouping, whether it be by ability groups or race or ethnic group or social class—the school has used this tendency toward homogeneous grouping increasingly to avoid having to work at teaching. The more we homogenize, the less creativity, and the less competence we need to bring to teaching. It is almost as if we were saying that the gifted will learn no matter what we do, the slow will not learn no matter what wo do. The school has assumed that given exposure to learning situations that have worked for some learners, failure to learn is indicative of deficiencies in the learner. We have not given adequate consideration to the efficiencies in the learning situation, or in the teaching method. Our modified curriculum has been one of reduced demand, rather than modified materials, changed techniques, increasingly efficient methods. The demand for integration in education, which is fundamentally a demand for equality of educational achievement, confronts educators with the responsibility for taking another look at a large number of learners for whom we have failed, learners who are in some ways different from those children upon whom standards of school practices have been developed.

And I should stop long enough from my prepared notes to comment on the fact of difference. There has been some tendency among some of us in the civil rights movement to feel that the recognition of the fact of difference is also an admission of some inferiority; without battling the question as to whether or not the values of our society make some characteristics less valuable than others, it is impossible to approach meaningfully the problems of education for children whose conditions of life have been different without recognizing that these conditions of life may have also made them in some ways different.

Anyway, faced with the fact of differences in the school population that cannot be hidden, and in a society that is demanding increased competence in all areas, the school has an opportunity, the opportunity for the appropriate identification of these differences, and through a substantive attack upon the task of teaching to a heterogeneous population, to raise education from a level best characterized as a technical service, to a level appropriate to a scientific profession. We have in Dr. Reissman's remarks useful leads in that direction.

I want to underscore his concern for harder work and greater optimism with respect to older children in adolescence. He is quite correct in rejecting the hopelessness with which many view this group. However, I cannot stand with him in reducing our effort at early, that is, preschool positive intervention. So long as society confronts these children with conditions of life which make them less ready to benefit from school upon regular age of entry, we will need to reach them earlier and in more creative ways.

In addition, a meaningful attack upon the learning problems of adolescents should lead us to focus not so much on the public relations aspect of an approach like Sam Sheppard's, but probably to look at his work and what it has done to intra-school activity: to look at the higher degree of teacher involvement, the increased effort on the parts of teachers, and, in some instances, a modest begining of a change of educational technology. The job of educational rehabilitation for persons of more advanced age (and here I'm thinking about adolescents, young adults, etc.) is a highly complex job, and it is going to require more than hope and pep talk, and I think Dr. Riessman and Dr. Sheppard recognize this.

One of the concerns that this task of rehabilitation for the older group now opens for us, and probably one of the concerns that lies at the root of all of our efforts at education, takes us away from the school. And I wouldn't want to end our remarks, leaving the impression that I'm critical of education alone, or feel that the total responsibility rests with the schools. The school certainly has a major role to play, and if it has not played it well, we as citizens have a more important role to play. We must create the kind of society which will permit the school adequately to discharge its responsibility. This means a social order in which human rights are truly superior to property and all other rights, a democratic society which is built upon meaningful integration of all of its people, an economically healthy society where productivity and security and opportunity for participation are available and truly open to all people, a society in which human intellect, no matter what its source, is nurtured and permitted to flourish.

Joseph K. Hart has written that "the democratic problem in education is not primarily a problem of training children. It is the problem of making a community in which children cannot help but growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent to the goods of life, eager to share in the task of the age. A school cannot produce this result; nothing but a community can do so."

Riessman: (in response to Dr. David Gottlieb's criticisms)

1. When I wrote *The Culturally Deprived Child,* contrary to what most people thought, I was not thinking only of the Negro child though I occasionally used him as an example.

2. I was not thinking of integration. I wrote the book a number of years before it appeared actually. I was accepting the fact, without thinking about it particularly, that there were some schools in which low-income youngsters (whether they were Negro or others) were separated from middle class youngsters. That's what I really was thinking of, and they still exist, and while we are making the integration changes (as I think Dr. Clark and others have indicated) there will be some segregated schools, and I think that you have to think about approaches that are related to low-income youngsters specifically.

I want to make very clear that I do not subscribe to the theory today that just good education for everybody is all that is involved. I do not accept this thesis. I have not changed my mind about that. I think there are two very focal kinds of education for the disadvantaged that I want to emphasize.

One is the unique using of technologies attuned to the positive style (and I said that in the book and I repeat it) of the low-income youngsters, which is a positive valuable creative style. I think role-playing is a very useful technique for getting at that style.

On the negative side I think that transitionally, as I said in the talk, there are a whole series of school know-how, reading difficulties, make-up problems, which have to be specifically geared toward the disadvantaged child.

Now, in the present context, where I certainly differ from the framework of what I was talking about earlier, is that I am now pointing out that in the urban school in which the middle-class and the low-income child exist together, that this keying on the low-income child is not going to hurt the middle-class child, that this using of the styles of the low-income child and developing technologies and approaches for it are not going to hurt the middle-class child but are going to help the middle-class child in that there is going to be an extension of styles, school culture, techniques, which will really broaden the school milieu for the middle-class child. I did not say that before. I confess it was a great error to have overlooked saying so in my earlier writing; but this is what I want to make very clear and am trying to say here today.

I do disagree with Dave about the education point. I think education is a key area in which integration is going to take place in the United States, for it is a break-through area. I do not mean because you are educated you are going to get a job. I do not mean that; it may not follow at all. But a number of things, I think, will follow.

If one produces an integrated education, one produces the beginnings of a model of integration. One produces more articulate leaders who use some of the skills derived from education, to cope with the producing of a better society—more jobs, improved housing. While I would agree that we certainly should give a lot of attention to these other areas, I think that particularly since we are interested in the fields related to the field of education, we should recognize that this is a key break-through area, and not pass it up. It is not going to achieve everything; I agree with Dave Gottlieb very much about that. But it is still a key area for us to give our attention and not to give excuses that we cannot do certain things because of the lack of housing and jobs. We can still make a tremendous contribution in the education situation, to integration and to the improvement of education.

Next, I will deal with the question of teacher selectivity. I find much greater success than is generally believed to be the case with training-in-service teachers. I have not given up on them at all. They have a lot of things that pre-school teachers do not have. They have a lot of experience and knowledge. Some of this has led them to be pessimistic and cynical. You've got to break that. You've got to show them that the present climate is different. They went into a school situation in which they were not listened to, not responded to, and could not have any influence and, as a result, they gave up. They were not prepared for such a situation and became apathetic and disillusioned. I am not angry at their disillusionment, but now a different opportunity exists for teachers and you have got to point this out to them. There is a changed dimension to the entire educational structure. Society desires good teaching for the disadvantaged—giving rewards and prestige for this. Consequently, teachers have new opportunities, and they have to see this. They are, however, crying for new techniques, new approaches to dealing with the situation.

This is not the platform, and I will not use it, to tell you the kinds of techniques and approaches we have developed for training master teachers. I do not want to go around the country teaching the teachers how to do the job. I want to train teachers to do it, and I think we have some programs that may succeed.

Too many people emphasize that we must only work on the new teachers—that the old ones are lost. I do not believe this. We have to acquaint the old teachers with the social science research that is available. But more important, these teachers need to get an inside understanding of the life and feelings of these kids and their parents. And I frankly think they often can learn more from art, from novels, from movies, from the artistic productions of these cultures and from Negro history and the discussion of these things so that they can get an inside kind of feeling. They should compare the movies of the English working class, "The Sporting Life," and "Saturday Night and Sunday Morning" with American low-income life and the particular groups here.

I want to get teachers interested in these people, not too much from social science texts, even though I would like them to look at these also and to discuss these in this context.

I think that we have a role to play outside of our role as professionals in the school system. We have a role as professionals, to consult with and work with the integration movement. This has very little to do with my main theme for this morning, but it is my main theme of the present time. Every little conference I have been to has been struggling with this problem and I want to just pass it on for what it is worth.

I find that when I talk about professional issues, techniques and things such as I have talked about today, when I go to school boards and others and talk about these things, without realizing it, even though I try very hard not to, I nevertheless get involved in their frame of reference, and the kinds of ideas, suggestions, and thinking I develop are to some extent affected, watered down and distorted in this context. I do not think there is anything we can do about it, except to be aware of it in that context. In other words, when we work as professionals or consultants, this is one of the limitations on us. It is good to be aware of it, it is good to fight it, but it is always there.

But there is a place where we can be much freer, and we can do much different kinds of thinking, and that is by working as consultants to the civil rights movement, to the poverty movements that are developing on the part of the people themselves. I find that when I consult with NAACP and CORE and other such groups, I get different kinds of thinking. They raise different kinds of questions and problems and they use my professional expertise in different ways.

What I am in a sense offering or suggesting is that we start to think about playing this role as part of your professional role. I do not mean that you go in there and tell them what to do either, of course. But you go in there and you interact and you consult and you listen to them, and they listen to you, and out of this I would suggest come very different kinds of thinking. And you will feel for the first time in your life as I have felt in that situation, really used, really worthwhile, really functional, not having to cut my thinking and close it off at certain points, but actually find that it is something which is really beneficial and wanted.

Gottlieb:

I did not mean to imply that we should give up on the teachers and our schools today, or we should not supply them with new curriculum. I happen to believe that some of the most enthusiastic, exciting and potentially talented young people are in our colleges today, and that they are ready to be used. What I am proposing is that in terms of the future —because these are the people who will not only play active roles in our schools, but in our communities—we should develop specialized training programs specifically directed at teachers being prepared to work in inner city areas. And this is the basic point I want to make about this, and I think it should be done. Some places are doing it; more ought to. After all, some of my best friends are teachers.

Question:

Dr. Gottlieb had stated that the teachers had posted on the wall test scores. I do not know what he meant.

Gottlieb:

What I meant was what Dr. Sheppard had told us at a meeting in Washington that the scores made by each of the classes and each of the teachers are circulated to all the teachers so they all know how the others are doing. And as I raised the question there with him, what kind of competition and conflict does this produce?

Respondent:

We have not done that for about three years. We began this as a means of getting people interested. Students wanted their teachers in it and the teachers got interested, and then we began to do other things. For example, during this past month, parents came up with something themselves. They started what they called a study-in month and they attempted to have all the children do something in study. One week they expected all the children to read something for the parents; another week the family had reserved one of our nights for family talk and discussion. Another week they did some sort of research. The teachers were not involved in this. These were things that were done at home by pupils and by parents. Very little was done in the schools.

I think that the program has done a great deal for the youngsters, for the teachers, for the principal even. I would agree with Dr. Riessman that one of the things that can be done is to train the teachers while they are in service. You do not have to start them before they begin. Most of these people who have done a very good job are people who were not sold on it at first. They had to be taught while in harness.

I would like to ask Dr. Riessman a question. We are involved in this integration business too. However, many of our schools, for example, mine, is a school of 1500 kids, set in a situation where there are no white children around. Therefore, there can be no white teachers. Can the youngsters in a segregated school community be taught?

Riessman:

I certainly think they can be taught and taught well. That is why I think some of the arguments that are sometimes used are very deceptive here, arguing that you could only educate people efficiently in an integrated context. I think they lose something in terms of the experiences that grow out of integration, and I think it is an ill preparation for an integrated world to be trained in those schools which exist at this time. But I do think they can be taught efficiently, and they can receive quality education. I think this is really a myth to believe that this can not be done.

Question:

Dr. Riessman, please comment on the statement in your book that the Higher Horizons Program does not take into account the anger and resentment of the young people involved in such projects.

Riessman:

I have been claiming that this anger, this protest, this discontent are extremely positive forces. And the comment I made about Higher Horizons was that the only positive thing in a Negro child's life is the school is not true. I think there are many positive things in his life, despite the negative environment. This is why I think Haryou is way off for it has only presented a one-sided picture of Harlem. These people have not surrendered to this terrible environment. They have demonstrated lots of protest and anger against it. They have indicated an ability to enjoy life despite difficult conditions. This is an extremely positive characteristic of people to be able to do this.

What I am saying is that this anger and protest is the key element changing the school system today, because it says schools must get better. Everybody has criticized the school but nobody ever really did anything about it until the integration movement put teeth in this demand. And this is what I think is so positive about it. It is interesting, by the way, that you find on the one hand this great criticism of the school system all over that it is conformist, dead, dull. And then, on the other hand, we say we have got to get them this good school life and make them middle-class. We are not going to make them middle-class like that. They are going to help remake the middle-class. They are going to help put some new qualities in the middle-class as they come into it, and change some of the characteristics of the school, one of the most important of which is its boring quality.

Shagaloff:

I do not have a question, but I would like to comment on Dr. Gottlieb's last remark. It seems to me, Dr. Gottlieb, that you underestimate the intensity and the scope of the civil rights movement today where the objective is the total and meaningful participation of Negroes, for better or for worse, in the mainstreams of American society. There is no choice then in selecting where an intensified effort should be taken to eliminate discriminatory practices. Negroes feel very keenly that education holds the key for Negro children if the adults or any generation are to compete successfully or effectively at the very heart of this society. Education then becomes the key to opening doors to other areas. I think, therefore, you underestimate the scope of the issues of integrated and good education throughout the North and West. This is not an effort to put ten children here and to put ten children there, but rather the objective is to reorganize the physical structure of the school system as well as a reorganization of educational concepts as it is offered to every child. I think you are seriously underestimating the movement and the drive that is there.

Gottlieb:

I would like first of all to come at two things. One is that I would love to see some empirical research dealing with the attitudes and values and concerns of the children who have been involved in what I consider the crash program in St. Louis. Now, secondly, to your comments, "Fine", "Wonderful", but it is not happening. I am maintaining that there are Negro and white students in high schools today, whether they are interracial or not, who are getting the benefit of all kinds of educational programs and who are perceiving and operating under the basis of a world that is closed to them. My concern is that we constantly concentrate on education without really realistically talking in terms of what is going to happen to these youngsters, what kind of places are they going to find. I am very much opposed to the whole idea of bussing in students, and I would like to know the kind of research that your organization has done as to what happens to these youngsters, aside from things dealing with raising their gradepoint averages.

I want to know what is happening to them when they come in and then in splendid isolation they depart. I think there is a real need here for research in these areas, and they can be tested empirically.

Shagaloff:

I do not want to pursue this, but the issue is not the bussing in of children. The question is how can the school system be reorganized in terms of its psysical environment, and affect the greatest amount of racial integration in schools and thereby fulfill the function of the public schools, and that is to teach children.

Audience:

I just want to comment on Dr. Gottlieb's remarks concerning Dr. Sheppard's system in St. Louis. Dr. Gottlieb's conversation to which he referred was two years ago and I think Sam Sheppard, like the rest of us, learns. Dr. Sheppard told me recently that he is not just concerned at all with grade-level improvements, with scores on tests, for he knows very well now that you can key in on these things, make these things improve without really educating people very much beyond this. His present focus is very much on a broad range of changes in attitudes toward learning, toward school, and for meaningful participation on the part of children. He is trying to look for a wide range of indices of this. Incidentally, what he needs very much is somebody to go out there and research that program, and to develop some of these indices. I think such work might be more worthwhile than a lot of research that is done. He needs this help. He is not a researcher. Thus he is looking for a wide range of behavioral and intellectual changes in these youngsters and not simply scores on tests.

Audience:

My main concern throughout this conference, I think, has been that the school has become the scapegoat. If we can harness this rise in the power of these criticisms (and the UAW is trying to do this in bringing together the poverty people and civil rights people in a big conference) so that we can focus this steam on the agencies which have proved so unresponsive to the educational needs of the country, Congress and the state legislature, maybe we can thereby get some money for education. I picked up the *Free Press* this morning and see that there is a danger that Jackson and Grand Rapids will go on half-day sessions, but one would never know it from this conference, because not one single word has been said about educational financing.

I would also assume that everybody in this room attributes a high value to racial heterogeneity and a value (I myself do not place quite so high) of social class heterogeneity. They also place a value on competence and quality in education and on need for remedial education in meeting the educational deficit, and I think Dr. Riessman this morning tried to tell us we can have all this and Heaven too. And I, as being one of those who provided the kind of social science research to which you refer, think this is not the case. And it surprises me too that they should be so quick sometimes with suggestions that you should try to get into French 4, without having had French 1, 2, and 3. It is an information gap. Though you may have only 15 kids in French 4 you cannot teach them well unless they perform at French 4 level. Yet, what we are saying to people who are dealing with children, who are expressive in many other ways and who again are in groups of 35 to 40, is that you should be smart enough to teach them all at once regardless of the level they are at. I would suggest to the men on the panel that I do not think any middle-class parent is going to buy your methods, concerned as he is with trying to get his kids into colleges. He is not going to accept the notion that under optimum conditions (which do not exist) his child would be able to compete effectively in a situation where the demands of other children are so great that they must be met first. From the point of view of my own value I would say, OK, if there is not enough to go around, those who need it most must have it first. But you do not think many people are going to buy that.

I would like to say one more thing. I welcomed Dr. Riessman's statement about the role of social science as a power, but I think it has a heavy responsibility. It can be very gratifying and it can be very productive.

Riessman:

Let me talk about the points as you made them. I like disagreement very much, and I think you said some things which are very crucial.

On the first point, about the uniformity of the low income groups, you are right. But I was trying to refer to something as a whole, and I will still stand by that and fight for it. I will stand that the apathy of low income groups is improperly understood by current social science writings, even when it is straight apathy. I think a lot of the apathy is functional and useful. I am also saying that people who surprisingly very often look apathetic are not apathetic at all, and mount quickly to leadership positions. A person I respect very highly and whom I expect you know since you refer to the labor movement in this situation recently wrote me a brilliant and important paper which I think is going to herald a tremendously significant union development; the unions, I think, are about to go into community organization on a big scale. He hoped so; I hope so. But in that extremely brilliant paper he said one thing which disturbed me enormously, that there was a lack of indigenous leadership in those communities. He just has not looked. There are packs of it; we could not get rid of it. There was so much of it on the Lower East Side which is one of the most passive "areas" in New York City. Harlem is much more loaded than the Lower East Side of Manhattan. We could not provide jobs for the indigenous leadership, so many came forward so very quickly. So, I am saying two different things. I am talking to some extent about two different groups, and I think what I am trying to say is not that there were some apathetic people (as Harrington says) and then there are some that are not. I do not think Harrington is right for the people he is talking about, and I think we want to take a new look about this whole apathy business and this is what I am arguing for.

Secondly, about the much larger question and more fundamental question—namely, the information gap that you raised. I certainly appreciate the point that you make, that some of the low income youngsters that have suffered from segregation, etc. will come into the school system as I tried to indicate in my plan and will have definite information gaps. And I do not simply suggest that you throw them into the classroom and that is all there is to it. I suggest that you very quickly develop a program for which I have tried to argue—a big after-school program, a tutoring program, special technique program—possibly part of the day grouping.

You are also saying that these teachers in slum areas, faced by no techniques for change, faced by poor financing problems—that they do not know what to do, and that I am being too idealistic for them. I am not really talking to them like that. I am talking to the system; I am talking about how to change this whole set-up. Do not get too lost in what you see sometimes. You do not see the larger picture; you do not see the movement that is occurring in America today. You do not see where the funds will be forthcoming. Do you know that in New York City, for example, a major foundation in the United States is waiting to pour a fantastic amount of money into teaching disadvantaged children. Financing is more available now than ever before and we have to look toward it. As I said, the one financial remark that I made was that we have to bother the government, the federal government, and the foundations, as well as local and state governments for monies for excellent integrated programs. And in the context that I tried to present this, this is the program I would push for. But, I would like to warn you, do not look at that local teacher; do not take your cue from her. You are in error if you do. She does not know what is going on. Do not be educated by her. You will become like the Board of Education in New York which listens to every Tom, Dick and Harry who comes in and tells them his problems. Do not listen to everybody; do not research everything. You will get lost.

Audience:

It seems to me that one of the basic problems that is being overlooked is that in America there has been an ideal of social mobility and that the public school has been identified as a means for maintaining the social movement.

Now, it seems to me that it is highly unfortunate that the Negroes have the civil rights movement come in a time when the public schools as a means of social movement have been a corpse. However, their interest, their need has been to tend to resurrect this corpse; so you get Dr. Riessman here talking about the wonderful things that will happen for everybody here as we resurrect this corpse. But if this corpse is resurrected it is going to help the white children too because then it will make the school system become a means of social movement, of being able to move us out of stagnation in thought.

On the other hand, the other point of view is also understandable here because if you also recognize the fact it is a corpse, and has been a corpse, you then look at other social institutions which can help. But this talk about education as a key is sentimental in many ways.

Gottlieb:

Let me make this observation. I am not talking about learning in the classroom and whether this or that kid has mastered Arithmetic 3, 4, 5 or French 1, 2 or 3. The point I have been making is that the educational process to me means much more than that, and that is why I emphasized the fact that I do not want interracial schools. I want integrated schools, and we have not been talking about those things. We are operating under the assumption that if we bring these kids in together, and they are sitting in the same room and the teacher who has been well trained and is very sweet and has had two group work courses and is quite nice, all will be well. But I am saying that even though they are sitting in the same room they maintain two separate social systems. And if we are talking about eventual integration in the adult world, then within the schoolroom itself we have got to give much more consideration to these people as human beings. And we have to begin to deal with the differences that exist between them, not on the basis of IQ, but on the basis of the kinds of values and attitudes that they have developed.

Let us carry it one step further, if I might. In the research we have been doing on Negro and white adolescents in interracial and segregated schools they do constitute separate systems; they do perceive along color lines. I am afraid Baldwin may not speak for everybody, but more and more of the stuff that I am finding, points out that separation and it is frightening. And this is why I raised the point about the world beyond the school and what happens to these kids, because you can tell them all you want about the great life, and they can have an excellent teacher, but as long as that kid perceives a world beyond the school that is closed, restricted because of his color, there is nothing or very little you are going to do to maximize the kinds of talents you are going to get with him. That is the thing.

Gordon:

It seems to me that we are approaching this issue as an either/or situation and I do not think it is. In fact I am sure it is not either/or. When we talk about the kinds of things that educators and teachers or the school has to do, we are excluding the kinds of things that have to happen in the community. When we talk about academic achievement, we are not excluding the things that relate to attitudes, to personal motivation, to involvement.

The thing that has interested me about this discussion (and many of those have revolved around questions of desegregation, of integration, of poverty) is our reluctance to engage some of the non-professional issues that really lie at the heart of our concern. There have been two or three comments this morning about the possible relationship of the civil rights movement to the anti-poverty movement. It is certainly clear that there can be no achievement of integration along ethnic lines in this country today or tomorrow if it does not take into account the status of poor people in this country. It is certainly clear that we are going to do very little to up-grade the education of the disadvantaged people in this country unless we have also done something about opening up opportunities for utilization of their educational achievements. This means very important changes in the way in which we approach employment; employment opportunities are to be a good bit more radical; and the way in which we approach the organization of the economy of our nation.

A few weeks ago a group of 35 persons came out with a report in which there were some rather interesting ideas about the kind of direction our nation has got to take if we are going to speak meaningfully—not only concerning integration and poverty but simply concerning survival as a nation. And the amount of attention this material got, I think, is pathetic. And it suggests that we, in education, are not the only persons who are wearing blinders these days; we are looking at a new world with old-world ideas; we are not ready to accept the kind of challenge that integration creates for us, or just the kind of challenge that the explosion of knowledge creates for us; nor are we willing to accept the kind of challenge that poverty in an affluent nation confronts us.

And what I am suggesting at this point is that if I am going to argue for emotional development of these children, if someone else is going to argue for motivation of them, and someone else is going to argue for academic achievement, and somebody else is going to argue for physical integration, and we are arguing with each other, these seem to me to be fairly futile attempts. What is really needed is an orchestration of these several views. We cannot do it along any of these lines, and we certainly will do it to a less successful extent if we do not include all of them.

Dr. Riessman has frequently engaged some of us in controversy with respect to special emphases in these areas, and I think from a theoretical point of view it probably is valuable to challenge any of our ideas. But in terms of getting the job done, we have got to recognize that we must speak to all of these issues, real job opportunities, real security, real distribution of the wealth of this land and other lands among the people who need it, real engagement of teachers and educators in the processes of learning, not simply the provision of an opportunity for learning, but making learning occur.

A friend of mine, Herb Burch, who has a background in experimental and animal psychology, frequently calls our attention to the fact that when we look at the problem of training animals, we have traditionally looked upon the animal psychologist as the responsible person for the learning that takes place there. If learning does not occur, we look to the psychologist and ask him why he has not been able to teach this particular procedure to this dog or that rat. When we have come to the question of teaching kids, we have looked to the kids and asked them why they have not learned what was taught them. Or if we are talking about counselling, we ask them why they have not benefitted from our counselling or psychotherapy. Back in the mid 30's, I think it was Lashley who surprised some people in the field of psychology by demonstrating that the common rat, which everybody knew could not be taught to distinguish between geometric forms, could learn this, and he did it by changing the learning tasks, changing the conditions under which learning took place. Now, what I am suggesting is that in the narrow confines now of education, we do have knowledge that permits us to apply new techniques, new procedures to the teaching and learning process.

In the area of social economic relations, the ideas are there. We know the kinds of things that need attention in our society if we are going to open up opportunities for people. And most of us, including the present speaker, are afraid to talk about it. We do not talk about socialism in our society when it is at least possible that some of the concepts that are socialistic may have answers to some of our questions.

Audience:

Dr. Gordon, I think, is entirely correct in pointing out the necessity of not falling into the disjoined dilemma and, in addition to that, I think you have to keep in mind the distinction of those steps which can be taken simultaneously and sequentially so in the case of integrated education everybody would agree with Dr. Gordon about what we are after. What we are after is integrated education and not interracial education. But you cannot get on the road unless you take a first step, and if you want to go from Hoboken to Paris you first have to take the ferry to New York. You have to get started, and you cannot begin to do the meaningful research that you are talking about until the situation actually exists in a public school setting. And once it does exist you are going to have all the reason you need for doing the right kind of research, because the research is not going to be initiated by polite young things looking for a PhD degree. It is going to be initiated by the discomfort and the discontent of the middle-class parents whose children are exposed to this situation.

I agree completely that what we need is innovative education, and the best way to get it is to use the mode of power of the integration effort. We have a great group of school teachers in America. In most communities teachers still represent intellectual power and a high level of integrity, and if we write them off, there is very little left on which to depend. The only fault we can find with them is that they are conservative, and cautious rather than venturesome. This is where stimulation can be provided and we can make them more venturesome. One way to make them more venturesome is to kick out the struts in the present construct that are so tightly put together that nobody is going to have a real idea, until you kick out some of the supporting structures. The civil rights movement is doing precisely that. I wanted to show you that any middle-class community which begins to bus children and make some attempt to integrate education immediately faces the problem of research and the evaluation of what it is doing. Certainly this is going on in New Rochelle. And if you make a point, there may be some adverse effects;

but what is an adverse effect? Is discomfort an adverse effect? The child who is bussed and then at the end of the day goes in splendid isolation to his slum home I would say that this is all to the good, because at least we have given him some of the discomfort of the system, or divine discontent. He is unhappier when he gets home because he is faced with something that now does not look as well as what he has been exposed to. I think this is all to the good.

EDUCATION AND THE RACIAL CRISIS

Wilbur B. Brookover:

Ten years ago the United States Supreme Court issued the historic Supreme Court desegregation decision. Although some social scientists and other intellectuals made major contributions that led up to that decision we have done little more to achieve the equality of education for which that decision called. We did not want this anniversary occasion in the midst of the revolution of the sixties to pass without providing an opportunity at Michigan State to focus attention on the needs for democratic school integration and make some contribution toward the achievement of this goal. We hope that this symposium will serve this purpose to some extent.

You must all be aware of the honor I have in sharing the platform with two great Americans tonight. I am particularly pleased to present one of America's great educational leaders who has served as Chairman of the United States Civil Rights Commission at the request of presidents of both major political parties—Dr. John Hannah, President of Michigan State University.

John A. Hannah:

Thank you very much, Professor Brookover, for your very generous introduction.

In the long, wearisome, often frustrating struggle to bring reason, justice, and equity into racial relations in America, the contributions of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been monumental. The fact that other organizations now seek to capitalize on the hard-won gains of the NAACP will not detract from the value of its contribution when the history of this movement is finally written. It is typical of the NAACP that this organization was a leader in the legal battle, the victorious culmination ten years ago we are commemorating in this symposium. Hence, it is highly appropriate that the national leader of the NAACP should be the principal speaker on this symposium program. Michigan State University is honored by his acceptance of the invitation to undertake this assignment and by his presence here tonight.

Our speaker has served as the Executive Secretary of the NAACP since 1955 and has carried his tremendous responsibility through a period of increasing controversy and debate. In my opinion the American people owe him a debt of gratitude for the courage, the reasonableness, the patience and the wisdom with which he has exercised his leadership. He is truly a veteran in the cause in which he believes so deeply, having joined the staff in 1931 as the Assistant General Secretary. For fifteen years he was the editor of the *Crisis*, the official organ of the NAACP, and carried a number of other important responsibilities prior to becoming the Executive Secretary in 1955, succeeding the late Walter White. He was born in St. Louis, and grew up in St. Paul, Minnesota, where he was educated in the public schools and went on to graduate from the University of Minnesota. Between his graduation and joining the staff of the NAACP, he worked for a newspaper in Kansas City. Without further biographical information about him, ladies and gentlemen, it is a distinct personal pleasure for me to present to this audience on this campus, to speak on the topic, "Education and the Racial Crisis," the Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Roy Wilkins.

EDUCATION AND THE RACIAL CRISIS

By Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary
NAACP

It is a particular pleasure for me to be here on the campus where Dr. Hannah is the President, because in these very trying years in the determination of American democracy, Dr. Hannah, as chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, has pointed a way for the nation that has been increasingly valuable as we fight foward to a solution.

I am reminded of the debate in the Senate in 1957 on the then pending Civil Rights Bill and on the discussion pro and con, in and out of the Senate, concerning the value of establishing a United States Commission on Civil Rights. And there was a sharp difference of opinion. It was felt in some quarters that this would be merely another Bureau, and that it would have a tendency to investigate, to survey and to put on the shelf all of the problems, complaints, and agitations of the Negro minority in the country, and thus save the government from dealing with them forthrightly.

But when the 1957 Bill eventually emerged from the Senate, establishing the Commission on Civil Rights, those of us who felt that this was a beginning toward expanded civil rights activity on the part of the nation had to explain to the skeptics (and there were many in the Negro population, and a great many scoffers in the white population) that this Commission could investigate and publish, under the imprimatur of the United States of America, the conditions under which the Negro minority was forced to live. This could take off the shoulders of private investigators and private agencies, and with it the discount that goes with such protestations, the burden of establishing just what these conditions were. I am happy to say that under Dr. Hannah some enduring, revealing, and moving literature on the condition of the Negro minority under the Constitution of the United States has been produced in the years since the Commission has been established. This surely has been true concerning the issue of education.

The question of education and the racial crisis is one that warrants consideration because I think education got us into this crisis, and I am hoping, although I am not so certain, that education may get us out of it. I fear that the politicians will perhaps still exert the pre-eminence they have always exerted in areas of this kind, and yet I think it is indisputable that education brought us into the crisis, and perhaps in ways about which we had not thought.

I think the whole Southern attitude and atmosphere, as it has been revealed particularly since 1954, is the result of a process of education and indoctrination, the likes of which we have not seen in the rest of our country. We do not have the people west of the Sierra Nevada, for example, exhibiting more than a mild case of Californiaitis. They talk about the West and their section of the country, and we, here in the Middle-West talk about the Middle-West, but not as a region. We have no regional loyalty. We have no regional indoctrination. But the South has engaged for years. as part of a self-defense mechanism, in a form of intensive indoctrination program—watching every textbook, every teacher, every curriculum, every speaker invited to every campus, watching everything from the kindergarten through the graduate school to see that they are Southern, that they express the Southern point of view, that they produce Southerners, that the students are not exposed to any alien influence or foreign agitation. The Russians, in the way they have indoctrinated Russians, act like Southerners. During the Second World War the Japanese were indoctrinated concerning Eastern imperialism and its sortie against the West, and every Japanese youngster learned this in school. And then we had Hitler and every child and every grown-up in Nazi Germany learned National Socialism in the textbooks, the neighborhood centers, the schools, the radio, the speeches, the propaganda—everywhere.

The indoctrination, south of the Mason-Dixon Line, brought forth the racial crisis of the 1960's. It had brought forth earlier the *Brown* vs. *Board of Education* decision of Topeka, Kansas, in 1954, the 10th anniversary of which we're celebrating this month. This unyielding, monolithic sentiment permeated not only nearly every educational institution in the South, but also the community institutions, the churches, and even the family; the word passed from father to son, from mother to daughter, from grandfather to grandson. All of this built up the wall—not the wall of visible segregation that the Negro was combatting every day, but that terrible wall, that psychological wall, whose unyielding mass could produce only what it did produce, the Revolution of the 1960's, because one could not go around it, one could not go under it, one could not go over it—and so we had to explode it. So education did bring us to the racial crisis, and in a sort of way the education of the Negro brought us to the racial crisis also, because while the South was doing this indoctrinating and this preaching of superiority and racial inferiority and rule by the Grace of God, the Negro was slowly beginning to learn. Pearl Buck once said that if the white men of this country really wanted to keep the Negro in slavery they should never have taught him to read and write. And so, no matter how slowly he did it–and he did it painfully slowly–the Negro developed an educated class, which meant a class of greater demands, a more demanding and ever expanding cadre of people who were not satisfied to be plantation hands, and who were graduates of the elementary schools, and who were then graduates of secondary schools, and who were then graduates of small colleges, and who were then graduates of larger colleges, and graduates who went far from Mississippi and Alabama, even to Michigan and to Minnesota and to Harvard, and to Princeton; and they generated this revolution.

In between there was, of course, the United States government, the whole Judeo-Christian idea of the equality of man and brotherhood and there was, of course, our own Declaration of Independence, the basis of our democracy, our nation, our nationhood. We came across the ocean, not to establish another land mass, but to establish, we said, a land of the free, a place where a man could achieve, based on his ability. If he had been a peasant in the old country, or even worse than a peasant, or if he had been a tradesman and his father before him a tradesman, he could come to this land and perhaps become a rich farmer, a businessman, a doctor, a teacher, or a professor; and he could come to rule the country, to be a judge, a mayor, a governor, a Congressman, a Senator. That is what we said and the Southern system of education tripped on these declarations of principle.

Thus the civil rights crisis of the 1960's is the gravest to face our nation since the Civil War. We are at this point because of the treatment being accorded to the Negro minority 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, but, more importantly, because the issue has developed to full flower at the very period when our country is at a crossroads. In other words, we have this revolution now–not in 1910 and not in 1980, but now, because the United States, its system of government, and its principles, in fact the whole Western structure of civilization is on trial, and not just on trial in a philosophical debate, but on trial among the peoples of the world. We are not having a polite debate with the British about whether we have a Congress and they have a parliament; we have a President and they have a family of monarchs. We are not having a little polite disagreement with France over her splinter politics as against our two party politics. This is no parlor discussion; this is a case of life and death. Is the democratic idea going to survive, or is it going to die? Is it going to be killed? And precisely at the time when we debate this issue, there faces us a strong and ruthless Russia over here, a roaring, impudent and arrogant China over there, and a divided Germany, a weakened England. How are we to answer those in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Louisiana who raise questions as to the integrity of our systems, beliefs, our principles, and even our humanity?

And so this is a real crisis and it comes at a time of crisis. And the real issue and the real danger has been and continues to be the menace to the American and not to the Southern way of life. As deep as are the wounds of members of the Negro minority, and as bruised as are their spirits from birth to death, the basic evil of this way-of-life lies not alone in its inhumanity, but in its perversion of the democratic process, its betrayal of the ideals of Western civilization and in its menace to freedom in the world.

When the Supreme Court handed down the 1954 decision, one of the apologists for the South said that the Court has commanded the South to give up "the basis of the South's society, the vitality of her culture," that it, the policy and practice of racial segregation, was blessed by the Constitution, or at least not damned by it. But the thing that brought about *Brown* vs. *Board of Education* was not Chief Justice Earl Warren, or any other whipping boy, it was a slow but inexorable march of free men down a century of striving, in a national climate and changing world which gave its moral blessing to the struggle. If the South in 1954 lost the basis of its society, that basis was well lost; for no people is made great by reliance upon so mean and so lowly a dogma as skin color, and the accompanying societal contrivances that blot out now and again the ugly realities.

One is persuaded to believe, however, that Southern white people ignored the trend, not so much because they relied on the Supreme Court's earlier separate but equal doctrine (which they did, of course), but because they felt arrogantly certain that they had built a political, social and economic bastion impervious to any assault. Southerners were not afraid. Racial prescription, had provided, in truth, the vitality of what has been called their culture. It was there. It was a living, breathing, functioning fact of life. It was protected all the way from the committees of Congress, down through the myriad bureaucracies to the state houses and the city halls throughout the South, to the colleges, to the schools, to the teachers, to the churches, to the lowliest political subdivision, and to all those intangible controls that were exercised on the Negro population.

We perhaps do not remember a statement made by Justice Harlan who had dissented in the Plessy case in 1896 which approved of separate-but-equal facilities. He made one statement that was particularly prophetic in that it described the situation with which we are wrestling today. He said, "If these laws, the laws of segregation, were to be adopted by the states, and if the federal government did not step in and put a stop to it, that much mischief would result, and among the dividends would be the fact that a great body of American citizens would be held in a position of legal inferiority." And I submit to you that that was the outcome of the 1896 decision. The position of legal inferiority was the position in which the Negro population found itself after 1896 until the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, because we must recognize that this 1954 decision dealt not merely with schools. We should not attempt to assess its impact in terms of the number of pupils desegregated (though we have to count them, for there has to be a measuring rod; we have to see how far we have gone and how far we have failed to come). The 1954 decision represented an escape from the legal position of inferiority, from the separate but equal concept; it represented a reaffirmation of the Negro's constitutional status as a citizen, a status that first had been denied in the Dred Scott case in 1857 when he was still a slave (only the court said then that we cannot give him the protection of the Constitution because he is not a citizen). But in 1865 he became a citizen. The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments made him a citizen, gave him equal protection of the laws and gave him the right to vote. But along came the Compromise of 1876 and then the 1896 court decision, and he was stripped of his constitutional status. The decision of 1954 restored this status. And it is in the light of this accomplishment that it must be judged. It seems to me that we make a great mistake in estimating the depth, power and tone of the present Negro revolt or resentment or upheaval (or whatever you choose to call it) unless we interpret the 1954 decision in terms of the reaffirmation of the Negro's status as a citizen rather than solely as a directive concerning the desegregation of the public education which, though immensely and tremendously important, ranks second to the determination of Negro status as a citizen.

The Negro was happy in 1954 because he thought he had at last had the path opened to get away from this past system of raw exploitation and power. What was that? It was lynching; it was injustice in the courts; it was disenfranchisement at the ballot box, and total exclusion from the state and national government. The United States Civil Rights Commission, under Dr. Hannah, was so shocked and appalled at the revelation of the extent, the trickery, the meaness, the terror, and the all-pervasiveness of the exclusion of the Negro from the franchise that even the Southern members of that Commission joined in a recommendation that federal referees and registrars be named in order to guarantee the Negroes the right to register and vote. When a Southerner agrees that a federal referee must be appointed, he means that he is utterly convinced that a Negro does not have the opportunity to register and vote at all under the present system. Mississippi, for example, has 82 counties in the state. Seventy-six of those 82 counties have less than 15% of the Negroes registered to vote. And my favorite county there is Humphries County in the Delta. They say in the South that they do not allow the Negroes to register and vote because they are afraid they will take over the government. Humphries County has a take-over registration of Negroes of 4/100 of 1% of the eligible Negroes in Humphries County. What can they do to take over the county?

The states rights system meant a housing ghetto in the North and in the South. It meant shacks and slums and rats and high rent. It meant unemployment at a high rate. It meant Negro job categories and Negro wages. This is what all the old system meant before the Brown decision —but most crippling of all, the states rights system, the system glorified by the eminent and distinguished Governor of the State of Alabama, George C. Wallace, involved public education.

Why are the Negroes like they are? Why are they so far behind? Why does it take them so long to catch up? Why? Why? Why? I suggest that all you have to do is to read the statistics of public education from 1919 up to 1954 and even to 1957. You will find that the State of Mississippi, for example, in 1930 was spending a per capita amount of $35.29 on a white child and $4.44 per capita on Negroes; and that the Negro school year was 99 days, and the white school year was 165 days. Now, it might be that Negroes are smart, but we are not quite that smart that we could make up that number of lost days. Even after the 1954 decision, Mississippi in 1957 was spending $187 each year for whites and $107 a year for Negroes. It is a long way from $4.44, but still $80 a year per capita behind the whites, and the Mississippians will tell you that it is a cardinal tenet of their doctrine that Negroes are mentally inferior and incapable of learning. It is a hard thing to demonstrate one's ability to learn when one has to go through the kind of gauntlet and obstacle course that is laid down for Negroes in Mississippi.

Resistance arose to the Brown decision. Ten years after the United States Supreme Court reaffirmed the constitutional status of Negro citizens, school desegregation proceeds at the average rate of less than 1% a year or in ten years, 9.3 per cent. We Negroes are told that we are going too fast and pushing too hard. This is blinding speed, blinding indeed! And we are also told, and warned, that our demands for an acceleration will lose friends—"friends for our cause." We regret that this speed is so fast as to cause our "friends" so much uneasiness, but we simply cannot slow down now, at this point; because if we did, we would be standing still, if not going backwards.

Bombings, violence, reprisals make up the resistance. Two farm families in one of the Carolinas sent their Negro children to a desegregated school—or one that they wanted to desegregate, and the kids were sent home. And within ten days the banks which held the mortgages on those two farms were calling in the mortgages, $16,000 worth of mortgages on two homes, two farms—$11,000 on one and $5,600 on another. It was the NAACP, with no headlines, no television, no broadcasts, that stepped in and put up the $16,000 so the farmers could go on farming and the kids could go on going to school. But this was the type of thing going on all over the South. In Selma, Alabama, a Negro grocer was driven out of business not by a boycott of Negro customers, because he was in a solid Negro district, but because the wholesalers would not sell to him because the white-owned stores in the other parts of the city told the wholesalers they would not buy from them if they sold to the Negro grocer, because the Negro grocer had signed a petition for desegregation of schools. This was the story all over the South. In Louisiana, they passed a law that anybody who belonged to the NAACP could not even secure a job driving a school bus because he was subversive and probably in Khrushchev's cabinet, for he would betray our great American ideals—the ideal of segregated schools. The direct action, sit-ins, the explosions in the past six years, and the unmistakeably clear message of dissatisfaction and revolt has stirred some people in some sections of the South to take a measure of corrective action even though on a token basis. But the old entrenched politicians appear to be unmoved. The civil rights upheaval has had an impact everywhere in the United States except in the United States Senate. There the filibusterers plod their traditional way, bowing to ancient rules, waltzing to tradition and being courteous to racial persecution. We are told that today the Civil Rights Bill in the Senate is menaced by our protests. People say, "Don't do that. You know you'll hurt the Civil Rights Bill. Don't stage a demonstration because they're trying to get things done." And a good many people believe this; it's reasonable to sound that way.

But the news came through today that they had finally begun the discussion and debate on amendments. Now this is the real crucial business. Many people count the days of debate. The *New York Herald Tribune* has been counting the number of words. This is good stuff for the clock, if you have a clock mind. But the real significance involves the amendments and the agreements, because in the background is the necessity to get 67 votes for cloture, and how do you get votes for cloture? Well, you come to Senator So-and-So and you say to him, "How do you feel about the Civil Rights Bill?" and he says, "Well, I don't know. I don't like that FEP section. I think the federal government is going too far there. Of course, I wouldn't throw it out, but I'd like to see some changes." "What changes would you like to see?" "Well, I think we ought to put in this and take out that and put in this and arrange for this." and then they go back in a huddle and say, "If we do this, FEP will get Senator So-and-So for cloture." This is the way it goes on. Well, today the news is that the Senator from Illinois, the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirkson, the Republican Minority leader in the Senate (who hails from the state of Abraham Lincoln, the man who freed the slaves, who is the minority leader of the Republican Party, the party that was born on an anti-slavery platform and that for years claimed the allegiance of the Negro voter on the strength of what Abraham Lincoln had done for them in 1860) is proposing that the Civil Rights Bill be amended to give the federal government only limited power to enforce the Bill, and that only after a pattern of discrimination is discovered by a survey in an area and certified thereafter by the United States Court, then and then only will the Department of Justice go in and initiate prosecutions and try to enforce the Civil Rights Act.

Discrimination outside the so-called pattern areas would not get federal attention, and each one who suffered discrimination there would have to proceed on his own in such ways as he could devise, and according to such resources as he could muster. I hope this is not an accurate report of the Republican Senate leader's proposal, but I fear it is. Senator Dirkson says he is doing this in order to give voluntary action an opportunity to prevent the federal government from exercising coercive action! Apparently the Senator is not aware that one of the Devils we are running from right now is voluntary action. This is why we are after a Civil Rights Bill. If we wanted to go on wrestling with voluntary action we would not be worrying with the Senate; we would be out here wrestling with voluntary action. We have found that we cannot win through voluntary action. We have also found out there is a kind of obscenity in the federal government which is installed and erected for the purpose of enforcing the individual guarantees in the Constitution, when it then stands on the sidelines as an onlooker while the harried, harassed, poor and impoverished Negro battles the octopus seeking to strangle him and to deny him his rights as a citizen at every turn. That's the reason we have a federal government; that's the reason we have a Department of Justice. This department is the department for the protection of the rights of all the people. The Attorney General is the people's lawyer, to safeguard its rights, yet Senator Dirkson wants to make a bow in the direction of state action, voluntary action, and keep the federal government in the background. I say that anything more than a ceremonial bow to the states, coupled with prompt comprehensive and forthright federal enforcement, will permit the states to continue the system they have maintained for a hundred years. This is the ogre from which we have been running; this is the ogre from which we thought we had escaped with the Brown decision in 1954, and yet ten years later the Senator from Illinois is trying to slip it into a Civil Rights Bill.

A despairing Negro population will have no choice if this formula is adopted but to act in behalf of its own dignity in each locality and in such ways as may seem effective to the aggrieved local groups, and to their leadership. Federal enforcement cannot be spotty, or partial, else many many years of tension, turmoil and abrasive racial relations lie ahead of us in this nation.

The cry of tyranny has been raised in connection with this bill by Senator Russell of Georgia and by Governor Wallace. The latter told the University of Minnesota and many Wisconsin voters that the Civil Rights Bill was tyranny. You know I am from the Middle West, and I have always had a soft spot in my heart for the good hard common sense of Middlewesterners. No one could have convinced me that Wallace would have found 264,000 people in Wisconsin who would swallow his line and vote for him. In Indiana, he was able only to scrape up 170,000, and that is 169,000 too many. And there, too, he had the help of people who resented a sales tax imposed under the present governor. (Perhaps they are like Mrs. Wilkins who can never forgive Nelson Rockefeller, the Governor of the State of New York, for the fact that he raised taxes as soon as he came in. And no matter what I say about Nelson Rockefeller, no matter what he does, no matter how he smiles, she says, "But, that's the man that raised our taxes.") A lot of people in Indiana and Wisconsin remembered that under the governor the taxes were raised so they went over and voted for Wallace—just for the pure orneriness of it. But anyway Governor Wallace says it's tyranny; the Southerners yell tyranny. But we have come to quite a point in our national development when the Chief Executive of a child-murder state like Alabama, a state where four little girls were blown to bits in Sunday School and nobody has done anything about it, a state where a white postoffice worker, walking through from Baltimore to carry a message on brotherhood to Mississippi (a hopeless task but he believed in it) was shot down in Alabama and killed, and nobody has yet been arrested for it. This is the kind of state that Governor Wallace represents, and I suggest that there is something in our national makeup that is decidedly wrong and odoriferous when a man like this can ask, not to be designated as a sheriff or a constable, but has the unmitigated gall to ask the people of these United States to nominate him for the Presidency of 186 million Americans. I think we ought to manage somehow (even if we have to do it in our closets) to hang our heads that we should have come to this as a nation. Opportunity there should be, yes. Every man on his own feet, yes. But there ought to be some standards, some decency before a man can offer himself for the Presidency of the United States.

People tell you that this Civil Rights Bill will mean that the government will regulate every business. We have a letter in Washington in our office (one of the Senators showed it to us after he got it from a constituent) and this dear lady wrote to him and said, "Dear Senator, please vote against that Civil Rights Bill, because it's going to take away my social security." She believes that; she believes that the Civil Rights Bill is going to take her Social Security. And they tell you that it will end the free enterprise system and a man's right to regulate his own business. Of course, we do not have free enterprise in this country; the government regulates many businesses. The government regulates, for example, the trucking business. You try too many axles on a road and you'll have to pull your truck off to one side. And you try overloading a truck and you have trouble. You want to run a drugstore? The Food and Drug Act tells you about what you can carry, and what a pill has to contain, what you can sell and what you can't sell. Are you in the butcher business? Are you running a supermarket? The government tells you what grade of meat you can sell. You can't sell horesmeat and dog meat for beef. The government has inspectors there to see you don't do it. Some people would sell water for gasoline or they will do anything they can get away with. But the government regulates practically every kind of business to prevent such immoral acts. And this is what the Civil Rights Bill would simply require that if a customer comes in your store and he happens not to be white, that you cannot tell him, "We don't serve you people here."

And a man said to me the other night, in all seriousness, "You know, it is rather a private business, isn't it?" And I answered, "In what way?" He said, "Well, a man puts his own money into it." And I said, "Yes, he does." "And he puts his own talent and skill into it." "Yes, he does." "And his reputation." "Yes." But I said, "He isn't running this business by invitation. He doesn't keep his door closed and admit by card only. He doesn't sell to his relatives, his friends, his family. It isn't a private business. The minute he hangs out his shingle and puts an ad in the paper and subscribes to the local disc-jockey, then he's in public business." And we say in this kind of pluralistic democratic society, one cannot say to two members of the public: "You can come in and spend your money, but *you* stay out. I will feed you, but not *you*. You can rent a room, but not *you*. You can ride on this elevator, but not *you*." The minute that differentiation happens, then he is operating a business in a private, personal and prejudiced manner, against a section of the public. Now, no Negro is asking him to love him and admit him to his business on that basis. And if he has special restrictions on everybody (like one has to wear a tie) — well and good. But it cannot be on a basis of color. The public accommodation section and the Fair Employment sections ought not to be thrown out because they regulate private business and take away a man's right to conduct his business as he sees fit.

Although their arguments against the federal government are old and vehement, the states righters never make the error of being that consistent as to refuse federal funds. They never say, "We are independent states, and you stay out of our business." They never say it — they say it only up to a point where the Federal Grants in Aid are due, and this is another section of the Bill which says the President shall have discretionary power to withhold these funds. How much is involved? In

1962, it was 10 billion dollars, and 2 billion 460 million dollars went to 11 Southern states: Alabama received 229 million and never sent a dollar back to the federal government; Virginia, 184 million; Mississippi, 147 million; Louisiana, 272 million. Alabama's total included 64 million for highways. Up here we call our roads — for example, Interstate Highway 96. But in Alabama they have signs that say the Wallace Highway Building Program. It does not say anything about the United States; up in one corner it has a Confederate flag and up in the other corner it has the flag of Alabama. The stars and stripes are nowhere around. These signs are up all over the highways in Alabama, put up with the 64 million dollars that it secured from the federal government. And he got that money from where? He got it from the federal government that got it from you in Michigan or from me in New York or from somebody else in Minnesota, from California, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Maine. We claim that under the Civil Rights Act the federal government should not subsidize segregation and discrimination against its own citizens.

Against the states' rights doctrine, the Negro steadfastly and repeatedly has advanced the argument that the United States Constitution is supreme — that the Supreme Court is the final authority on the meaning of the Constitution, and that the Court's interpretation of the Constitution is binding upon the states. The Negro has maintained that the United States is a single nation and is not a conglomeration of sovereign states, united only as each pleases to be. He has argued and the courts have agreed that the contention that the states have the power to violate the 14th, and 15th Amendments through state laws, customs and regulations — that this is specious.

The segregationists have now turned from action to block integration itself to action to block petitions for desegregation. The segregationists are challenging the 1st Amendment. They are trampling upon freedom of speech and assembly, and upon the right of petition for redress of grievances. The battle is now pitched on that level — the level which is concerned not only with racial rights alone but with that of survival of a free society. And as we go forth from this 10th anniversary into the next 10 years, and to the next 10 after that, it seems to us that we might return to my reminder at the outset of my talk — namely, of the crisis to which education brought us. Certainly we must devote increasing attention, as we are doing in the Symposium here at Michigan State and as they are doing elsewhere in the country, to a study of how we can solve our educational problems; how we can indoctrinate toward better understanding of the 1st Amendment; toward an understanding of redress of grievances; toward knowledge of the structure, channels and opportunities in our society for the enjoyment of the liberties of citizens. It seems to me that in all the arguments concerning the neighborhood school, the

Princeton Plan, desegregation of schools, of the interchange of teachers and of neighborhoods and related complex questions in public education, that we must recognize why we came to this crisis, what it is and how not to get out of it. How not to get out of it is to continue to rely on all the old shibboleths and all the old myths and all the old slogans that have acted to preserve the neighborhood school as a segregated school. We must realize that while the problem is difficult, and while it requires delicate but firm treatment, that the Negro feels that the governmental bodies have an obligation to wrestle with this battle until his children get a fair share of the education to which they are entitled. He is determined that this should occur. He is going to agree with you that it is hard; he is going to agree with you that it is tough; he is going to agree with you that there may be some hard words and some terrible wrestling of souls, and there may be some resignations of school boards and some embarrassments to mayors, but one thing that he is very certain of, and all of his friends with him, and that is that we cannot go back to the old system, no matter what name it is called, whether it is stubbornly maintained *de jure* segregation in the Delta of Mississippi, or whether it is *de facto* segregation in Michigan or New York or Massachusetts. The world in which we live is moving too fast and requires too much knowledge for the Negro parent to grant one iota of delay in bringing his child into the world of the 20th Century via the educational process.

And so, we are going to have to wrestle with it; we are going to have to decide whether our society, our Constitution, our political structure and our ideals are a broad enough umbrella to include a racial minority that is different in color, different to some degree in its original background as a result of the handicap of having been slaves in its own land. This is the problem, and there is no ignoring it; and you make no excuses for it; you make no apologies for it, because if the democratic system cannot develop the ingenuity to construct this umbrella, then it will go down, and the Western world will go down, because some other system will have to come into effect. Man is going to be here, black man, white man, yellow man, red man; and if our system won't suffice for them all to dwell together in peace and justice and mutual self respect, then some other system will. I believe we can devise the system if we have the will.

In his immortal Gettysburg address, Abraham Lincoln called for a resolution that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom. Now, Lincoln did not mean freedom for individual states to go their own ways. He was fighting a war against that. Nor did he mean freedom for the Negro alone. He meant, of course, freedom for a nation, for the composite whole and all the people thereof. The crisis today is only incidentally a Negro crisis; it is a crisis of national life and in a deep and very real sense, a sense sharpened by the turn of history in which we find ourselves, it is a crisis of free men in our century. The resolution with which we meet it, burying racism and regionalism and political shenanigans inherent in the states rights system, could determine whether freedom or a type of slavery shall be the lot of men of every color, everywhere.

Hannah:

As you know our distinguished speaker has agreed to answer questions. Before I turn the program back to Professor Brookover, who is the Chairman of the Symposium that started this morning in the Kellogg Center and will be completed tomorrow (and it is very appropriate that he should handle the questions), you will recall that in my introduction of Mr. Wilkins, I indicated that in my opinion the American people owe him a debt of gratitude for his courage, his reasonableness, his patience, and the wisdom with which he has exercised his leadership. And I'm sure he has demonstrated to you this evening that those adjectives are not superlative.

Mr. Wilkins, we're very grateful to you for being here, and I am going to turn the meeting back to Professor Brookover to handle the questions and the inquisition.

Question:

Are you satisfied with President Johnson's efforts to influence the Senate on the Civil Rights Bill since President Kennedy's assassination?

Wilkins:

Yes, I am. I don't think Mr. Johnson has overlooked an opportunity to speak in behalf of civil rights and of this bill; and I would like to point out, in all justice to him, that while he was Vice President, before he became President, he delivered a number of speeches in the country, one particularly on July 4, 1963 at Gettysburg, another at the Commencement exercises of Tufts College in Massachusetts, and several more speeches of forthright advocacy of civil rights and equality of opportunity. I go back at the risk of sounding like a campaigner for Mr. Johnson but you know, in a sense, he is like a member of a minority group. He has to have good words said for him in order to overcome the associations of a minority group.

Some of you may not remember the night before election in 1960. He made a last-minute talk on television along about midnight; the campaigning was all over, people had made up their minds. The point is that President Johnson did not have to say a lot of things but in his very brief 4-minute talk he stressed human rights and human relationships and told about his section of Texas which happens not to be the traditional South. Since that time, he has made the strongest pronouncement of any President on civil rights in the South, and certainly the strongest pronouncement by any Southern President, because he is the first Southern President in 100 years.

Question.

Please comment on the way out of our *de facto* segregation dilemma in the North.

Wilkins:

I can't do it. The *de facto* segregation in the North is going to require all of the devotion, skill, knowledge, thought, firmness, negotiation, and pressure of all kinds that can be mustered. It is also going to require something that I think sometimes the people on both sides forget, or perhaps educators stress too strongly, and the pro-integrationists dismiss too lightly, and that is that it is going to have to give some attention to the real objective of getting rid of *de facto* segregation, or segregation *de jure,* is to get a better education or to get *equality* in education, or (hopefully) to get *quality* in education. This is the number one objective. The one that goes hand-in-hand with it, but in my personal book ranks a half step behind, is the co-education of ethnic groups in the same school. You cannot teach American democracy by having all white children over here and all black children over here, or all Irish in one school, or all Jewish in another school, or all Italians in still another school, because the only way we learn to live together and appreciate, understand, and respect each other, or the opposite, is by contact – physical, daily, face-to-face contact in our schools. Here we learn the meaning of it. Otherwise the reading of the Declaration of Independence in an all-white school does not mean very much if students never get to see a Negro, except as a chauffeur, a cook, a gardener, or maid, or cleaning woman, or porter, or some Negro on the street. But if you never get to see a Negro student, to find out whether he is smart or dumb, or whether he is personable or not, you have no basis on which to judge him. This is the handicap of the Southern white child, and this is the handicap of a good many Northern suburban white youngsters. They all go to school with other white children and do everything else with them. It would be good for them to look at a couple of brown and black Negroes once in a while. It would help them. It would be good for the Negroes, too. We have got to solve this problem of *de facto* segregation, but it is not possible in three minutes to reel off the ways in which you can get rid of *de facto* segregation.

Question:

What is the relationship of the NAACP to the Black Muslims?

Wilkins:

The Black Muslims, of course, as everybody knows are anti-Christian, anti-white, and anti-Semitic. The NAACP has never associated with anti-organizations. We cannot countenance anti-Semitism. Practically all of our members either belong to a church or at least are not anti-church, anti-Christian, and the NAACP membership being inter-racial (and it always has been since it was organized in 1909) is not anti-white, and its policies have never been anti-white.

Now the Muslims are an unknown quantity. It is hard to give a long talk about them. In the first place, nobody knows how many there are. They never tell you. There is a joke going around in New York City that Malcolm X didn't know how many Muslims he had until the *New York Times* estimated 200,000. But one does not know whether there are 200,000 or 100,000, or 80,000 or 20,000 members. But they do have temples (as they call them) in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago and Los Angeles, and I think in Atlanta and one or two other places.

Malcolm X has recently split off from the Muslim business, because Malcolm says he wants to get more into the fight for the American Negro – not that he wants to join us in NAACP. He has some pretty hard things to say about the NAACP, CORE and about Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and about all the Negro organizations. He says they are on the wrong track. What they need is to get a couple of states of their own – something like New York and Pennsylvania and New Jersey, or something like that. I have tried to suggest that they give him Mississippi, but he won't go for that. No, he would rather settle for Ohio. But anyway he said, "We black people ought to be by ourselves and the white people ought to be by themselves, and this business of integration and getting rid of segregation is all wrong." And for that, of course, Senator Russell got up in the Senate and made a speech, praising Malcolm X. I don't know how Malcolm feels about being praised by Senator Russell, but if I were in his shoes I would watch out.

The NAACP has had no official relationship with the Muslims at all. When the Muslims had trouble in Los Angeles over a police brutality case we launched a protest. We offered them legal assistance, which they did not need, but they were gracious and accepted the offer. They paid for their own legal work. But we added our protest to theirs. When they were in trouble in a police brutality case in Rochester, New York, we also joined in that protest. But officially we have had nothing to do with the Muslims. We have, you might say, the same kind of relationship that the Laborites and the Conservatives in England do, maybe. We get along well. Malcolm and I speak to each other and we don't cuss each other out to our faces, and his young men are all Ivy-League well-dressed and soft spoken. They are not rowdies. Whenever you hear a talk about violence in the streets, it is not the Muslims. The Muslims do not go in for any street violence or any street demonstrations at all. They have rallies, but they are an exceptionally well disciplined group, well behaved and thus far non-violent. But Malcolm has announced that he wants to organize rifle clubs for the self defense of Negroes. Now this is cause for serious evaluation. This is dangerous, because when you organize rifle clubs for self protection and then *you* decide concerning what provocation you will employ your rifle club, and when you couple it with such phrases as: "We will execute on the spot the people who discriminate against us or who attack us," then in one fell swoop you knock aside all the police and law enforcement structure and the courts and law itself. I am not sure that Malcolm meant all of this, but you know, when you get excited up here on the platform and you hear your own voice and you hear the cheers and you hear the hand clapping and you hear the laughs, and you say, "Well, I can do better than that," then you say something else and then you get more cheers and you say something else and you get more cheers and pretty soon you have said something that you really did not start out to say. And I prefer to think that Malcolm did that. However, the Negro in this country, aside from the Muslims, has never placed his faith in violence. I do not mean that he is not resentful; I do not mean that he will not fight back if he is attacked. He has already done that; he will not turn the other cheek, but I just saw Martin Luther King this morning and Martin does believe in turning the other cheek, and sincerely so, and a good many of his followers do. But we, in the NAACP, do not believe in turning the other cheek.

Question:

Do you believe that demonstrations not directly related to the objective, such as the New York Fair stall-in, but approaching civil disobedience, is a proper and desirable method?

Wilkins:

Well, I would like to answer it in two parts. Let us take the stall-in first. I believe the stall-in was an improper, badly timed and badly focussed business that was of little value and might prove harmful, because what the people were complaining about were problems involving the political structure, and the responsibility lay in the New York City government and in the unions. It did not lie in the World's Fair management.

This was like picketing Gimbel's when you are sore at Macy's. For that reason I felt that the stall-in tactic was a poor tactic, because, if they had had a quarrel with the World's Fair there could have been a demonstration or picketing of the World's Fair. But the stall-in itself, the blocking of access to all the parkways in and around the Fair, would work a hardship on hundreds of thousands of people who had no part in the dispute, who could not do anything about it at all, and who would have been simply made angry if the thing had come off.

Another reason it was bad was because it was at the site of a World's Fair, where people from all over the nation and all over the world will come and the Fair was a sort of a national show piece. Now, in my own estimation, it would have been much better to have used the Fair for the process of educating the visitors who came and winning friends and influencing people for our side rather than antagonizing them at the very outset. A man from Michigan, for example, gets in a station wagon with his three little nuisances and his wife, and his pocket full of travelers' checks that he has been saving up ever since Bob Moses told him they were going to have a Fair in New York, and off they go to New York to the World's Fair. Here is a man who is taking his family there to have a good time, to get an education, to see New York and enjoy themselves, and he is going to spend his good hard-earned money. And he gets there, and what does he find? Some guys who are sore at Mayor Wagner of New York, or the School Board of New York, or the International Plumbers Union, are ruining his holiday and stealing away his $500 that he saved up to go to the Fair. And he is getting nothing out of it. Now, he is mad, his wife is mad, and his three kids are mad, and they come home and someone says: "Well, did you have a good visit in New York?" "All except those So-and-So's who spoiled it for us." You see, you use these occasions, not to make people mad, but to make them stop and say, "Well, maybe they have something there."

Now, concerning civil disobedience there are times when civil disobedience is a good tactic. There are times — I can conceive of the time when civil disobedience might have to be employed, because this country, even awakened as she has been now, is still really not morally shaken up to understand. Anybody who talks about it, who even entertains the idea of a delayed and piecemeal parcelling out of basic human rights to American citizens, who says they ought not to intrude into this area just yet, or that they ought to wait a little while, or why do they push for this — has not been really shaken up morally. And it might take civil disobedience to shake them up and make them understand that people feel very deeply about these things, so deeply that they are willing to disobey and to make nuisances of themselves, to call attention to their plight; and in line with my basic theme, to help to rescue America and put her back on the track where she started out to be.

THE COURTS, SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Floyd Reeves

The educational background of the next speaker is well fitted to the work in which he is now and has been engaged. In addition to honorary degrees, he holds a B.A. degree from Morehouse College and a J.D. degree from Northwestern University. Prior to joining the faculty of the Howard University School of Law twenty-eight years ago, he taught at Leland College of Louisiana and served as dean of Arkansas State College. A quarter of a century ago, in 1926, he became assistant to the president of Howard University, and since that time he has served continuously as an administrative officer at Howard, usually holding two or three administrative and professional posts simultaneously. In addition to serving as Assistant to the President and Professor of Law, he has been Director of Public Relations, Dean of the School of Law, Secretary of the University and since 1961, President of Howard University.

Aside from his university duties, our speaker has served as a director of the North Carolina Life Insurance Company, Advisor to the U.S. Delegation of the International Labor Organization conference in Geneva, Legal Advisor to the Reorganization Board of the Government of the Virgin Islands, Trustee of Howard University, member of the Board of Directors of the American Arbitration Board and the National Capital Area Board of the Civil Liberties Union. He is also a member of the American, National, and the Texas Bar Associations, the American Judicial Society and the National Legal Advisory Committee of the National Society of Medical Research. His publications include articles in professional journals dealing with problems of law and justice.

I am greatly honored to have been asked to introduce our next speaker — one of my close friends over a period of almost a quarter of a century. Actually he needed no introduction to this audience, or to any group of workers in the field of civil rights or labor-management relations, or leaders in the fields of jurisprudence or education. In all of these fields his contributions to America and to the world have been outstanding. I present to you a person whose diverse talents throughout his life have always been devoted to the service of mankind. I present a wise, courageous and dedicated man — Dr. James M. Nabrit, President of Howard University.

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THE COURTS, SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr.
President of Howard University

No one can doubt that we live in an age of revolutions. Revolutionary changes are affecting the lives of most of us. Technological advancements are nothing short of fantastic, demonstrating the tremendous capacity of the human intellect. As we look to the future, it is difficult to imagine the way in which the lives of people will change in the generations which follow us.

At the same time there have been enormous advances in science, there have been political revolutions of varying sorts in widely separated parts of the world. India's achievement of independence shortly after the close of World War II was almost like a trumpet call, heralding the collapse of an old style colonialism and marking the dawn of a new era for many millions of people. These political revolutions have diversities of their own.

We are also involved in an economic revolution in which the emergence of automation is only one aspect. The economic uplift of a part of the world's populations is a fact which is readily apparent to all of us, yet it is an unfortunate reality that despite the technological, political and economic revolutions of our times, the lives of the vast majority of the people of this world have improved little since the days of their fathers. It is encouraging to note our government's declaration of war on poverty. There is surely no cause more noble. It is a war which we must win, for it is both uneconomic, unjust, and intolerable to have so many of our people committed to lives that know only want and misery. In view of the fact that social and economic progress has so frequently lagged behind the technological advances of society, there is an absolute necessity that a greater share of society's best talent be devoted to solving problems related to the physical and spiritual well-being of people. For a large share of this effort we look to the social scientists.

Out of the revolutions of our time has come the present civil rights movement in America. This revolution, like most revolutions, has not just suddenly occurred. It has been developing for many years, indeed, one might say since the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. Whether you call this revolution the civil rights revolution, the Negro

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revolution, or the Negro protest, it is centered on the demands of Negroes for equality in a country that was created out of the revolutionary spirit and whose society from the beginning has embraced principles of equality. As described so well by Gunnar Myrdal in *An American Dilemma*, our country's most grievous problem has been in accord with their creed. When they chose to think about this matter, the consciences of many Americans have been troubled. The truth of the matter, however, is that over the long one hundred years since the Emancipation Proclamation, the majority of the American people have been apathetic and have given little thought to the plight of the Negro minority. During the years of the period of the Reconstruction after the close of the Civil War, and in the period which immediately followed, not only the states of the South, but also a number of states in other areas of the country undertook action to institutionalize by state constitutions and law a rigid system of racial segregation. They sought to fasten the badges of slavery forever upon the Negro. It is the operation of this system and its defiance by the Negro which has generated the crisis in civil rights in America today.

The decisions of earlier cases (Sweatt-Sipuel-McLaurin) very clearly paved the way for the Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Brown* vs. *Board of Education*. If one properly understands the significance of these cases, any other decision in the Brown case would have been even more surprising, unless the Court had decided not to deal directly with the main issue. However, the fact that the Court was unanimous in the Brown decision was a matter of unusual significance. Unanimity among the nine members of the Court on matters of great importance, and especially in a case which overrules an earlier decision, is a matter which ordinarily is properly regarded as extraordinary. It is not infrequent that where the implications of decisions are complex and far reaching, there is considerable disagreement among members of the Court resulting in a number of different opinions. The unanimity of the Courts in the Brown case indicated that the country had now reached the time when legally enforced racial segregation, whether in the field of education or elsewhere, was drawing near its end.

The decision of the Court in the Brown case, however, as well as the Court itself, has been under heavy attack. Quite apart from the segregationist's line of reasoning, there are those who see in this decision the continued expansion of the authority of the Federal Government at the expense of the states. They see an end to the division of powers which was created under our Federal system of government. Some critics of the decision are especially disturbed by the fact that in its consideration of the case, the Court brought before it the views of social scientists who had been dealing with the problems of segregation and discrimination in their own disciplines.

Although considerable attention is directed to the non-legal briefs filed by Mr. Justice Brandeis and by many lawyers since 1906, the Supreme Court itself on many earlier and subsequent occasions introduced into its reasoning, relevant materials which it gathered from non-legal sources. Even in the case of *Plessy* vs. *Ferguson,* it is clear that the Court relied heavily upon notions of a non-legal nature when it made this statement: "The underlying fallacy of plaintiff's argument is the assumption that the forced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority." To the segregationist, it is all right to use non-legal material in *Plessy* which upholds segregation but wrong to use it in *Brown* which outlaws segregation.

It is quite evident that studies and conclusions of a number of social scientists were influential in the consideration of the court in reaching its decision in *Brown* vs. *Board of Education.* This does not mean to imply that the Court relied wholly on the materials of social scientists. It is, however, abundantly clear that these materials were of substantial value. Law is created in order to assist society in achieving certain goals. Judges are not unmindful of what these goals are, and the fact that they may change from time to time. When called upon to interpret the broad and generalized phases of the Constitution, judges must necessarily examine these principles in the light of circumstances of the day, rather than as limited to the conditions of the time when the words were first written. The courts on occasion make use of accountants, statisticians, and other specialists who are called in to interpret relevant data. It is therefore, little more than the application of common sense for judges to turn to social scientists for assistance on particular matters in which they are experts.

At an earlier point in my career, I worked very closely with a group of lawyers handling cases for the NAACP. As we came to the consideration of a number of cases in the late 1940's, particularly cases involving segregation in the public schools, including the publicly-supported colleges and universities, we turned to educators, historians, and other social scientists to help in the development of our cases. It was our view that while we as lawyers had the kind of background and perspective needed to prepare our arguments from a legal basis, we needed to have the understandings and the insights of social scientists in dealing with cases involving segregated public education. The decisions which were rendered in these cases substantiated our course of action.

It is now a fact that segregation in the public schools imposed by law is unconstitutional. We are, however, a long way from achieving the full objectives declared by the 1954 decision. As emphasized by many of the civil rights activities in recent months, there is a large amount of *de facto* segregation in the public schools of many of our communities.

This is widely true in the north. In many of our courts, there are cases dealing with this question. It is inescapable that judges in considering these cases should turn to social scientists for their help. Not only are the data supplied by the social scientists of great aid to judges, but also in a very practical way the country cannot solve its racial problems without the work of social scientists. While it is quite proper to say that the problems of the rights of Negroes constitute essentially a moral issue, it cannot be denied that we are dealing with complex matters whose ramifications touch every fabric of our social structure. We are dealing with an issue which has economic, political, social, educational, moral and legal overtones. The full integration of public education will not be achieved until we are able to resolve the related problems in all of these areas.

The style of the civil rights movement has changed over the last two decades. Americans have become acutely conscious of the world-wide revolutions of rising expectations, and the collapse of colonial empires. Americans also developed a deep respect for the martyred leader of India's drive for freedom, Mahatma Gandhi, whose teaching of passive resistance seemed peculiarly appropriate for the needs of Negro Americans. It permitted the man on the street to participate directly in civil rights protest, and, by stressing religious teaching, it became possible for a Negro to protest against injustice without denying his friendship with whites, his religious beliefs or his loyalty to the United States. The non-violent movement made its appeal directly to white public opinion, in actions which were largely symbolic, rather than applications of force. By the summer of 1963, the civil rights movement had become a full-blown revolution. It occupies the Courts, the streets, law enforcement bodies, Congress, the church, and its force has swept all into its orbit.

Desegregation of the public schools has become a major objective of the civil rights movement, and this is more than just the natural consequences of the 1954 Supreme Court decision. There are several other causes: First of all, the school is the central institution of an industrialized society. Without education, modern society cannot continue to function or progress. Furthermore, the school holds the key to social mobility. Again, it dramatizes all the ills which affect the Negro people. Finally, it should be observed that the school system is a public agency, and therefore should be especially responsive to the Negro's demands for the full rights of citizenship.

The Supreme Court's 1954 decision dealt only with *de jure* segregation found primarily in the South. Since then, as I have pointed out, a number of local and federal courts have dealt with cases involving *de facto* segregation in Northern cities.

One of the most famous of these cases is *Taylor* vs. *New Rochelle Board of Education* (1961) in which the Federal Court held that *de facto* segregation was unconstitutional when there was clear intent on the part of the school board to use residential segregation as a means of maintaining schools by gerrymandering.

More recently, it appears that the Courts will rule on the basis of the harmful effects of segregated education — no matter what its origin and no matter what the intent of the school boards. The New York Federal Court in *Branche* vs. *Hempstead Board of Education* (1962) is illustrative of this posture.

> "So here, it is not enough to show that residence accounts for the fact of segregation and to contend that therefore the segregation is ineluctable. The efforts to mitigate the consequent educational inadequacy is to impose it in the absence of a conclusive demonstration that no circumstantially possible effort can effect any significant mitigation. What is involved here is not convenience but constitutional interests."

Similarly, in *Webb* vs. *Chicago Board of Education* (1963), which was dismissed because the Court felt that no attempt had been made to remedy the situation under the provision of the laws of the State of Illinois, Judge Hoffman stated in part:

> "Segregated schools, in the main, have fallen woefully short (of their responsibilities) despite the emergence of some brilliant Negro leaders.
>
> The Negro school is the one with the highest drop-out rate and the lowest academic achievement. Apparently it makes little difference whether a school is deliberately segregated or segregated by reason of the housing situation."

The intense dissatisfaction of Negroes with the prevalent pattern of *de facto* segregated public schools in the North and with the quality of education in those schools must be understood as an overt expression of their rebellion against their general status in American society. The struggle against *de facto* segregation, by focusing on an especially strategic institution, symbolizes the effort on the part of the Negro to obtain his full rights as an American citizen and to achieve his rightful place in the social order. The struggle is part of a major social revolution sweeping the United States.

The emphasis being placed on the quality of education by the civil rights movement has made it a central and complex issue. The quality of education is a central issue because it is recognized that segregation may adversely affect quality and that education provides the ladder of escape from low social and economic status and provides a path to integration.

It is a complex issue because the achievement of pupils in the schools is the result not only of the quality of schools but, also, of the background of the child – of his family, neighborhood and general cultural milieu.

The effort to achieve integration for Negroes must be reviewed in the context of the nature of American society. The United States is a pluralistic society comprising many and diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural, as well as racial groups. There are considerable differences in the extent to which these various populations have become "integrated" or remained "segregated." Some immigrant groups have taken active measures to prevent "integration" – that is as a measure to prevent their complete assimilation. Examples of efforts to prevent their integration are afforded by the self-imposed isolation of certain religious communities which remain segregated by choice to preserve their beliefs and culture.

Negroes are finding it more difficult to achieve dispersal or integrated living than did the various white ethnic and religious groups when they desired to do so. Visibility is, of course, a factor in making this more difficult for them. The Negro is battling for the right to achieve dispersed patterns of living that are open to other groups, for white immigrant groups have had the choice of living in dispersed fashion to effect integration or remaining resident in enclaves of their own kind.

There are many areas in which social scientists can do further research with respect to our understanding of racial segregation and discrimination. I would like to suggest several. We need more research on the effects of segregation on the personalities of both Negroes and white people. We need more studies of the loss to our country, of the failure of persons of minority status to find adequate opportunities for the expression of their talents. Additional studies should be undertaken regarding the effects of industrialization on minority relations, not only in the area of industrial relations, but also on the prevailing intergroup patterns in the community. There should be greater understanding of the ideologies underlying segregation and discrimination and the changes in such ideologies over a long time. More attention needs to be given to the reaction of Negroes and other elements of the population to changes in public policy. We need to know more about education and motivation of children of the slum areas that only social scientists can tell us. Further, we need more intensive study of what takes place in every specific area in which change is occurring; for example, in industry, in community, professional association, politics, education and the like. The vast problem of *de facto* segregation in the public schools presents us with an enormous area in which additional studies need to be made. The role of the social scientist here is a critical one.

The Federal Courts in announcing decisions which have become an essential part of the fabric of public policy have made significant contributions to the destruction of segregation in public education. The decisions of the Supreme Court have been as inspirational and helpful as the word of Congress in this area has been disappointing. The executive branch of the Federal Government has achieved greater effectiveness in achieving desegregation, but while much desegregation has been accomplished integration has not yet come. There is still a major role which social scientists can play in helping to achieve the promised goal.

Much of the research to which I have referred will have to be done on college and universities campuses. Our universities, therefore, are in a position to make a much greater contribution than many of them have made in the past to the ultimate achievement of the kind of a country to which our American creed has committed us. Let us be hopeful that many other institutions will take the steps that are being taken at Michigan State University to be alert to the true functions of a great University and cast light into darkness. With almost one-fourth of all Negroes in this country possessing less than a 5th grade education and with the average Negro worker earning only 52 cents of the annual dollar earned by the average white worker, there is need of much light and more action. Ten years after the 1954 decision, the majority of the schools in the South are still segregated or only integrated by token admission of Negroes. If we would get the Negro out of the streets, we need to accept him as a full-fledged American citizen. Until we do, the winds of revolution will still sweep the land and we shall someday regret its destructive force and pay dearly for our obstinancy and short-sightedness.

The test of freedom in a pluralistic democratic society lies not in whether any given group is integrated or segregated, it lies rather in whether each person is free to live in an integrated or segregated manner by his own choice. This essentially, is the right which the Negro seeks. It is clear that legally and morally, the Negro must be given the same freedom of choice with respect to residential patterns and to social and economic opportunity that is available to other citizens.

It is one thing to end *de jure* segregation in our public schools, but the problem of abolishing *de facto* segregation is quite something else, and to achieve integration is still a more difficult task. Only Monday of this week, the Supreme Court left standing a lower court decision (Gary, Ind.) that school boundaries need not be changed to force integration if they were honestly drawn for non-racial reasons. While we know we cannot be sure what the court will do with this question if and when it faces up to it, it at least poses for us the difficulties to be faced in combating *de facto* segregation. While we are well acquainted with the fact that in many instances, the boundaries of school districts have been established in such a way as to place the majority or all of the Negro students into separate schools, it is also true that *de facto* segregation has resulted largely from the housing patterns of our communities. With so much of the urban white population leaving the cities and moving to the suburbs, an inescapable result is that an increasing proportion of those remaining in the cities are Negro. Under these circumstances, the schools in the cities tend to become more and more Negro in their composition, while the suburban schools are largely white. The end product of *de facto* segregation is no different from that of *de jure* segregation. The harmful results of racial segregation are evident in either case. A healthy society demands that in the area of public life, including public education, there should be no lines of separation among the various segments of the population.

There is much that social scientists can do to establish an atmosphere which looks upon racial prejudice with disfavor, and which provides a healthier environment for shaping public policy which is more in turn with the ideals and objectives of our country. In this connection, I would like to quote from an article which I wrote in 1953 in which I made the following statement, which I am sure is as true today as it was then:

> "Public policy is not a panacea for racial discrimination. It is only one of the important phases of the struggle for a united community, for a realization of the American creed. Legislation, judicial decision, and administrative action need to be preceded by, accompanied with, and followed with educational activity, economic activity, political activity and normal community action so as to strengthen public policy. No one thing will *ipso facto* achieve racial integration or group unity. Public policy provides a rallying ground for proponents of its philosophy. Law becomes effective in proportion as public opinion supports it. Therefore, we need an aroused public opinion against racial discrimination. The increase in public opinion against racial segregation will in turn encourage the courts to advance still further in undermining the system of segregation, and as the courts move further, the opinion against discrimination will increase, and legislation against discrimination will more easily be passed; and thus on and on — each phase of the operation depending upon and aiding every other phase. Public policy sets the issue in its moral framework, it also removes the barriers to action by the timid or doubtful. Public policy should be the reflection of our American creed. Public policy demonstrates to ourselves and the world whether democracy can be practiced when colored races are involved, or whether democracy, too, is reserved for 'white' only."